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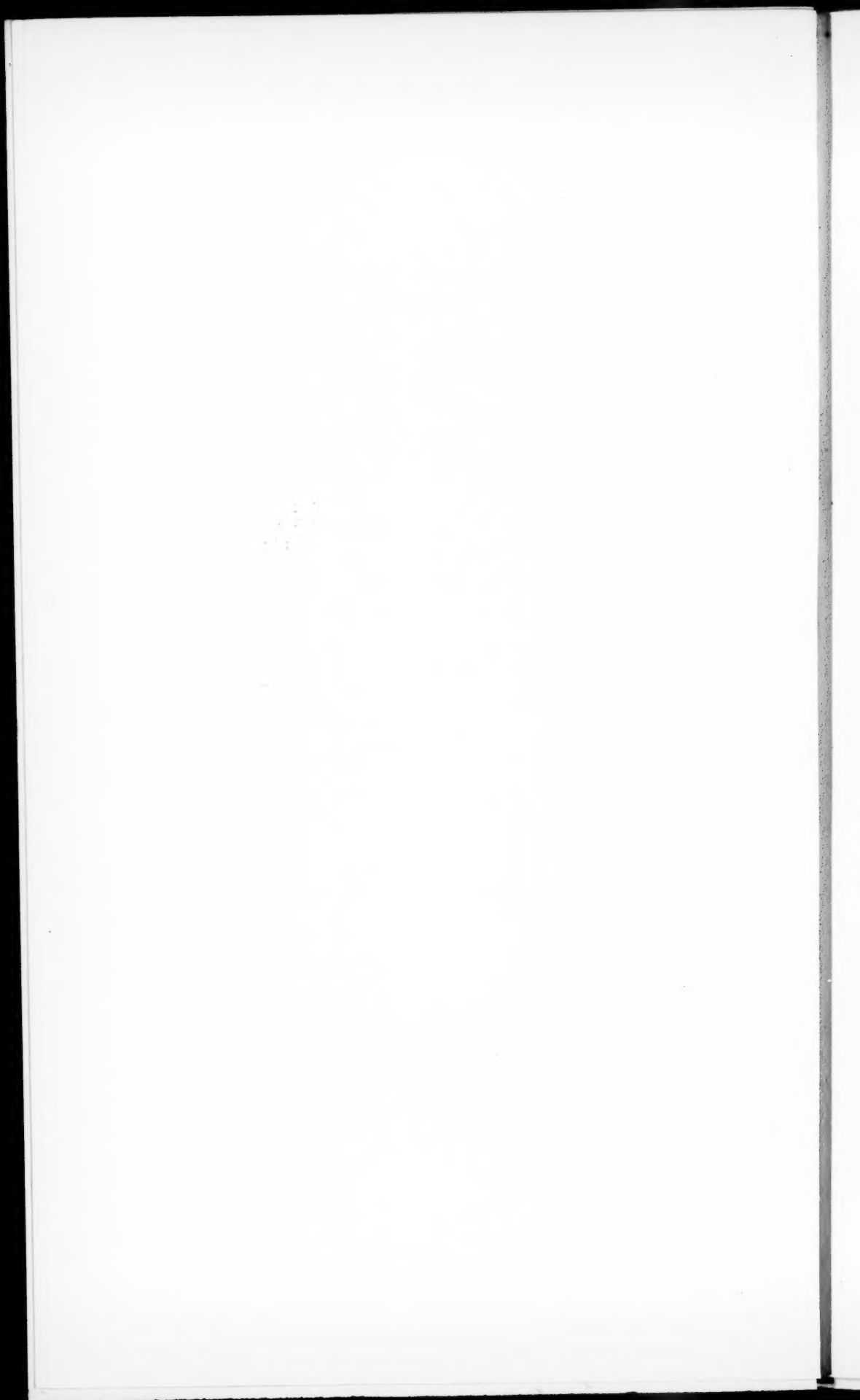
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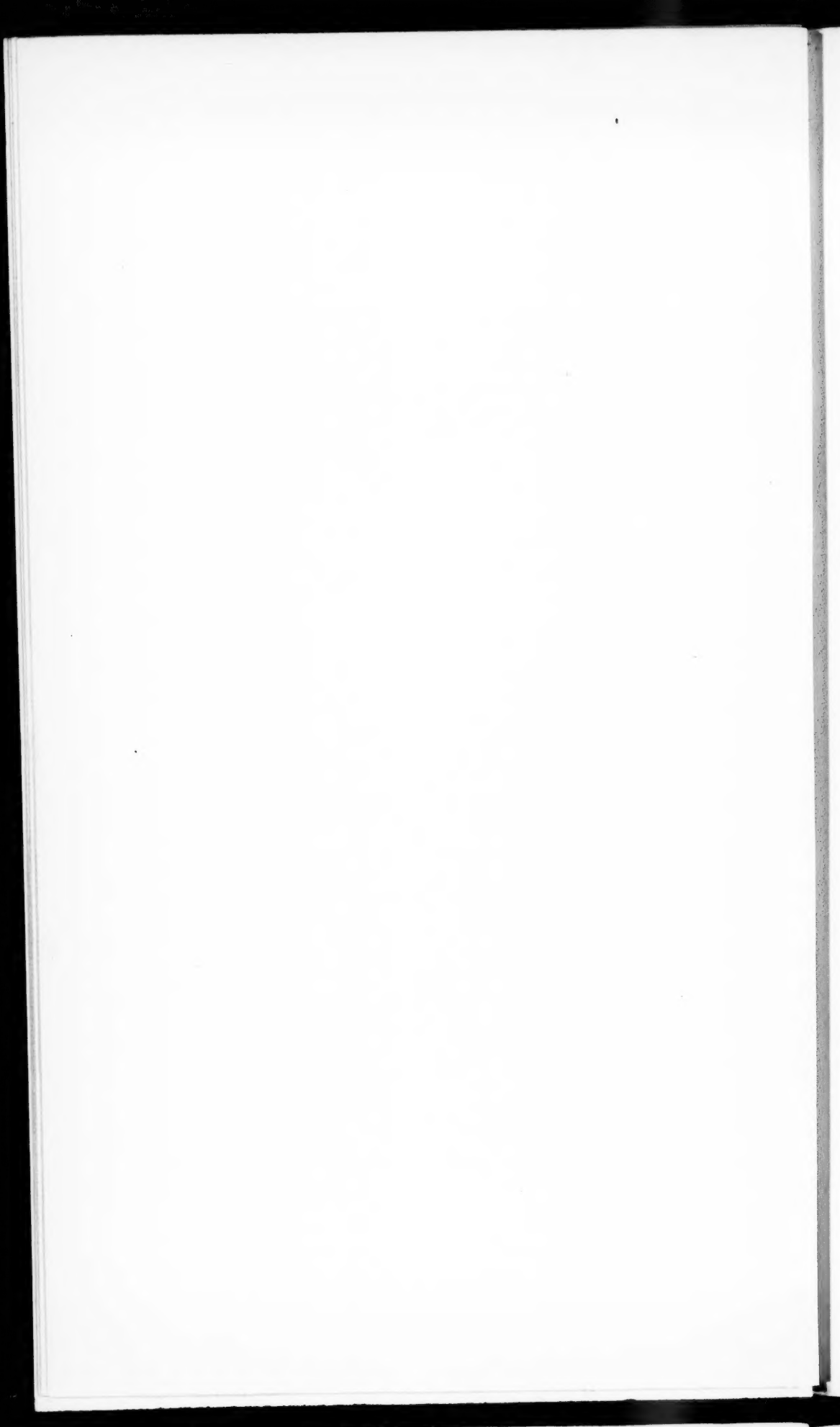
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AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

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WHOLE No. 221

CHARLES WILLIAM EMIL MILLER

IN PIAM MEMORIAM

Charles William Emil Miller was of German descent. His father Charles William Miller came to the United States just before the Civil War, and settled in Richmond, Virginia, as a teacher of languages and of music. There Charles William Emil was born on January 14, 1863. When he was four years old, the family moved to Baltimore. He passed from the Baltimore Public Schools to Baltimore City College, from which he was graduated in 1880. He then entered the Johns Hopkins University, and took his A. B. in 1882. At this time he was undecided whether to devote himself to the Classics or to Music. Fortunately, he came under the influence of Dr. Basil Lanneau Gildersleeve and won his doctor's degree in 1886. In 1889, he married Miss Sue Farrell Parsons. By her, he had four children, Emil, Harold, Edith and Helen, who are all living. His first teaching position (1885-88) was that of Instructor in the Milton Academy in Baltimore, of which his future father-in-law was president. In 1888, he went to the High School of Peoria, Illinois, as Professor of Latin and Greek. From Peoria, he was called to Walthar College, St. Louis, where he remained only one year (1890-91). Dr. Gildersleeve brought him back to Baltimore in 1891 as his Special Assistant. In 1892, he became Associate in Greek and in 1897, Associate Professor. From 1915 to 1925, he was full Professor and when Dr. Gildersleeve resigned his chair, Dr. Miller succeeded him as Francis White Professor of Greek.

Dr. Miller was prominent in the academic life of the Johns

Hopkins University. From 1915 to 1926, he was Secretary of the Board of University Studies, and from 1925 to 1930 he was a member of the Academic Council. He worked for years with Professor Gildersleeve on the *Syntax of Classical Greek* from Homer to Demosthenes, of which Part I was published in 1900, Part II in 1911. He gave a very large part of his life to the *American Journal of Philology*, founded by Dr. Gildersleeve, and of which Dr. Miller was editor until a few months before his death. Under his editorship, the *Journal* became a model of scholarly accuracy. Dr. Miller contributed few articles himself. He was content to remain in the background as editor of the *Journal*, but only those who knew him well realized the amount of time and the ceaseless care that he gave to his editorial work. During the editorship of Dr. Gildersleeve, the *Journal* always contained a section entitled "Brief Mention" written by Dr. Gildersleeve himself. Dr. Miller discontinued this section of the *Journal*, but after Dr. Gildersleeve's death, he edited and prepared selections from "Brief Mention", with a biographical sketch and an index, which was published in 1930 by The Johns Hopkins and the Oxford University Press. The biographical sketch in this volume covering only some eight pages is Dr. Miller's final tribute to his old teacher. But the index, which runs to almost one hundred pages, is a masterpiece of accuracy to which Dr. Miller gave years of care and investigation. Dr. Gildersleeve in his "Brief Mention" made frequent quotations, but seldom gave any definite references. Dr. Miller traced down every one of these quotations. Only occasionally had he to turn to an outsider for help. It is a sign of his love for accuracy that in this index he adds to each quotation the names of the few other scholars who helped him find the original source. Even in an index, he was unwilling to assume credit for anything that he had not done himself. The later years of his life were devoted to the *Syntax of Aristophanes*, a study that he planned but never finished. In May of 1934 he began to show symptoms of illness, and, after a period of great suffering, he died on August 7, 1934. He died as he had lived — bravely, uncomplainingly, like a man and a scholar.

Dr. Miller embodied all the characteristics of true scholarship and of accurate learning. To him Classical Philology was as exact a science as Mathematics. He taught his pupils accuracy

and, perhaps, this was the greatest gift that he could have given them in an age in which there is so much careless writing and poor scholarship. Since he was so accurate, he was far removed from the casualness of everyday life. He had a definite austerity that kept him on a plane by himself. But behind this aloofness, this austerity, there was a warm heart and a very human understanding. His students never saw him angry, even when someone made the most glaring philological error. He kept his most biting scorn for those who had no understanding or appreciation of the Classics.

If any man ever gave his whole life to his work and to his teaching, Dr. Miller was surely he. Night after night, one would find the light burning in his office in Gilman Hall or would see him slipping quietly out of the building after midnight and hurrying back to his home on St. Paul Street. Some of his pupils were privileged to meet him occasionally in that home and there they saw another side of him, for, in his home, he was the kindly host, the devoted husband, the loving father.

He was not hard — as some superficial observers might think — he was only self-sufficient and strong. There was about him a Spartan defiance of physical weakness. He was often ill and suffering, but he never showed any outward signs of it. He never cut a lecture or failed to appear at the appointed hour.

Colleagues and students who did not know him well thought of him rather as a classical philologist and a grammarian than as a lover of Greek literature. Such men were wrong. Dr. Miller *was* a great grammarian. He knew Greek syntax, as a chemist knows the reactions in his test tubes. But he was something much finer than this. He was a musician and he used his music and his sense of rhythm to interpret the meters of Greek poetry. His knowledge of the structure of a Greek sentence never overshadowed his appreciation of its literary beauty. He was like an anatomist, who knows every bone, every muscle, every nerve of the human body, but who takes keen delight in watching a group of dancing girls or boys swimming in the sun-flecked waters of a brook.

Dr. Miller was not only my teacher and my revered master; he was also my friend. But he was a hard man to know. We did know, nevertheless, that there were inner penetralia in his mind, jealously guarded against intrusion, into which he must

often have withdrawn in order to find fresh strength for the difficulties that sometimes pressed heavily upon him.

There was one poem that he disliked — Robert Browning's "A Grammarian's Funeral." He thought that it was a libel; yet, as I bring to a close my imperfect tribute to a man whom I revered and loved, I cannot think of a better ending than this:

"Sleep, crop and herd! Sleep, darkling thorpe and croft,
Safe from the weather!
He, whom we convoy to his grave aloft,
Singing together,
He was a man born with thy face and throat,
Lyric Apollo!

Step to a tune, square chests, erect each head,
'Ware the beholders!
This is our master, famous, calm and dead,
Borne on our shoulders."

JOHN RATHBONE OLIVER.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

LETTERS OF CADMUS.

No one can be quite certain whether the figure of Cadmus the Phoenician belongs to mere legend or to actual tradition. He is abundantly familiar as a coloniser of Boeotia from overseas, who introduced the lore of writing among a hitherto illiterate Greek people. In the 58th chapter of his Fifth Book, Herodotus records the vague memory with characteristic precision of personal opinion:

These Phoenicians who came with Cadmus at their settlement in this country, among many other kinds of learning, brought into Hellas the alphabet, which had hitherto been unknown, as I think, to the Greeks; and presently as time went on the sound and the form of the letters were changed. At this time the Greeks that dwelt round them for the most part were Ionians; who, having been taught the letters by the Phoenicians, used them with some few changes of form, and in so doing gave to these characters (as indeed was but just, seeing that the Phoenicians had brought them into Hellas) the name of Phoenician. . . . I have myself seen Cadmean characters in the temple of Ismenian Apollo at Thebes of Boeotia, graven on certain tripods and for the most part like Ionian letters.¹

The inscriptions on the tripods are then quoted, and turn out to be five Ionic hexameters, constituting dedications of a stereotyped and familiar form.

The rest of ancient literary testimony on Cadmus agrees fundamentally with this Herodotean version. Accepting the story as a reflection of actuality, Prof. J. L. Myres in his remarkable book of Sather lectures, "*Who Were the Greeks?*", has calculated that Cadmus came to Thebes about 1400 B. C., nearly two hundred years before its destruction by the Argives in the generation preceding the Trojan War. The site of the Cadmea in the centre of ancient Thebes has been dug by Keramopoullos and a building, perhaps a palace, has come to light, with contents sufficiently precise to permit a date in the second phase of the Late Helladic period.² In this "palace" there was found a

¹ From the translation in the Loeb Classical Library. Throughout my article I am not quoting the Greek texts to which I appeal, since they are in everyone's possession.

² The excavator's own account may be found in the *Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς*, 1907, 205 ff.; 1909, 57 ff.; 1910, 111 ff.; 1930, 29 ff.; cf. also his *Θηβαϊκά* (= *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον*, Vol. III [1917]).

collection (now in the local museum at Thebes) of unpretentious vases of local shape and fabric, adorned with painted marks which are patently not mere abstract geometric designs but significant symbols,—in short, γράμματα, letters. The “Palace of Cadmus” and therein “Cadmean letters” from approximately the very period which Greek genealogical folk-memory had attested! Only, the “letters” were not in the least Phoenician, being every whit as un-Semitic as Cadmus’ own building.

Certainly, these cannot be the type of Cadmean letters which Herodotus beheld. By no human possibility could he have deciphered and transcribed five lines of verse engraved in such a script upon tripods in the sanctuary of Ismenian Apollo. It is equally impossible to suppose that he could have described as “letters for the most part like the Ionian” these symbols which are so wholly alien. The three dedicatory epigrams which he read in all-but-Ionian letters can only have been engraved in the archaic local alphabet current in Boeotia during the seventh, sixth, and perhaps fifth centuries B. C. Long ago, in his *Prolegomena ad Homerum* (p. lv), Wolf discussed these epigrams and claimed that their diction betrayed their late origin in the post-Homeric epic tradition. I do not imagine that the intensified critical sense of to-day will permit anyone to suggest an origin substantially earlier than the sixth century for these stereotyped and unremarkable verses. The names of the dedicators,—Amphitryon, Skaïos, Laodamas—stir legendary memories in us, as they did in Herodotus; but we shall not follow him in dating these tripods back into the Helladic world of Laius, Oedipus, and Eteocles. Being classical dedications in classical script, it should not be impossible to visualise their general appearance. I venture my posthumous illustration to Herodotus (FIG. 1) to remove all possible charge of vagueness from my contentions.

In Herodotus’ day such an inscription might perfectly well have existed in a Theban sanctuary, engraved on a dedication already more than a century old. Examining it with curious attention Herodotus could certainly have read and transcribed it. Save for the digamma, the unfamiliar form for lambda, the unexpected substitution of the psi-symbol for the chi, and the failure to distinguish the long vowels for E and O, he would

have discovered little that was un-Ionic. Here were in truth the letters which the Ionians inherited from the Phoenicians and used "with some few changes of form," calling them, as was but just, Phoenician.

But Herodotus was wrong in thinking that such writing as this had anything to do with Cadmus or that it was while the Ionians were still in Greece as neighbors of Cadmeans that they had learned this lore from the Boeotian "Phoenicians."

None the less, "Cadmus" may well have brought letters (though not this later alphabet) to Greece around 1400 B. C. It is not unreasonable to hold some Minoan settler in mainland Greece responsible for the (apparently not very wide) diffusion

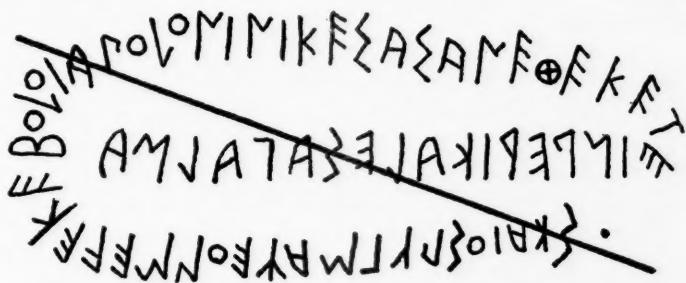


FIG. 1. Drawing to show the possible appearance of what Herodotus called the "letters of Cadmus."

of the Cretan linear script; and if Professor Myres states the case correctly,³ the Cadmeans arrived from the sea about 1400 B. C., were "red-skins" and sea-bred mariners connected with the new dynasty established about the same time in Crete, and if not the builders of the palace and tombs at Thebes, at any rate its re-occupants, being very likely a deliberate Minoan reinforcement of the "palace" regime already established at Thebes.

I leave to Professor Myres' great reputation for learning and ingenuity the detailed justification of this thesis. It is enough for my present purpose to indicate that modern archaeological theory sees nothing amiss with a literate Cadmus coming to an illiterate Thebes several centuries before the general break-up of the mainland Greek civilisation under the "Doric invasion."

Nor is it part of my immediate purpose to illustrate or discuss

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 321 f., pp. 347 ff.

here the Late-Helladic variant of the Cretan linear script,⁴ parent of the Cyprian syllabary which so obstinately survived into classical times. Though they have not all been published as yet, the specimens of this "Mycenean writing" have been steadily accumulating; and though the total volume is still small, the geographical distribution,—Orchomenos, Thebes, Menidi, Eleusis, Mycenae, Tiryns, Asine,—is striking and significant. Since the locality is right, the environment is right, the date is right, why should we not accept the Greek folk-memory as a true tradition and, taking the Herodotean phrase, call this Helladic writing "Cadmean letters?"

Greece was twice literate: once in the Late-Helladic period, perhaps from 1400 to 1200 B. C. or a little later, employing a Cretan derivative script, and again, long after, in the late Geometric period, at the time of the renewed contact with the East in the second half of the eighth century, when the most practical of contemporary scripts, the Phoenician alphabet, was encountered, appreciated, and adapted to Hellenic use. Owing to the length of the intervening lapse into illiteracy (a lapse incidentally into all the circumstances normally associated with illiteracy when, in Thucydides' brilliant description of the times, "there was no mercantile traffic and the people did not mingle with one another without fear, either on land or by sea, and they each tilled their own land only enough to obtain a livelihood from it, having no surplus of wealth,"⁵) with four hundred years void of written records or intelligible accounts, Herodotus could not discriminate between the two distinct occasions but combined them into a single event in his narrative—for the good and sufficient reason that Cadmus was traditionally a Phoenician.

And here the archaeologist falls foul of the literary sources. His searchings have produced an extensive and detailed picture of the early Cretan (Minoan) and the corresponding mainland

⁴For which consult the footnotes to J. P. Harland's "Scripta Helladica," *A. J. A.*, XXXVIII (1934), 83-92. Sir Arthur Evans still remains the *fons et origo* of modern speculation on the Minoan-Achaean script.

⁵Thucydides, I, 2, 2, from the translation in the Loeb Classical Library. Archaeological search has confirmed this Thucydidean picture as exactly appropriate to the early Geometric Age, in Ionia as well as in mainland Greece.

(Helladic) civilisations, but yielded nothing whatever to suggest any Semitic strain or influence. More specifically, the haunts of Cadmus have proven totally un-Oriental. Thebes is typically Helladic; Thera, colonised by Cadmus according to Greek legend, has been unusually competently explored without revealing Phoenician affiliations; and other spots, such as Thasos, have been equally barren. Whence then the belief that the Cadmeans were Phoenician?

We may parry with a second question. Why did the Greeks apply the name *Phoenician* to the Semitic inhabitants of the North Syrian coast-towns, who called themselves *Sidonim* and possessed no term corresponding to *Phoinikes*? We cannot be certain that the Greek epithet means "red" or "swarthy," as has so often been suggested; but it is surely of Greek invention and application. In earlier Greek parlance it appears to be a synonym for Cretan or islander, or it may mean Carian. Significantly enough, when the astute and critical Thucydides wrote his inestimably valuable *aperçu* of the beginnings of Greek civilisation for preface to his own history, he related that the Aegean islands were once full of Carians and Phoenicians and advanced as proof a fact familiar to his contemporaries:

When Delos was purified by the Athenians and the graves of all who had ever died on the island were removed, over half were discovered to be Carians, being recognized by the fashion of the armour found buried with them, and by the mode of burial which is that still in use among them.⁶

"Carian" remains, yes; but even for Thucydides no discoverable Phoenicians. Yet if the words Phoenician and Carian once were applied to Aegean islanders, when these various folk succumbed beneath the repeated blows of Achaeans, Ionians, and Dorians, how could the epithet *Phoenician* be ultimately transferred to an utterly alien people in a wholly different region? The archaeologist can only suggest that the phenomenon is part of that eastward dispersion which left the Minoan-Achaean script stranded on Cyprus, and an Aegean folk still further east in Philistia. The Minoan and Mycenaean dispersion along the Syrian and Palestinian coast,—an event ever more and more substantiated by archaeological finds,—may therefore have car-

⁶ Thucydides, I, 8, 1, from the Loeb translation.

ried the name to that part of the world. In Homer, Phoenicians and Sidonians are one and indistinguishable; but Homer already belongs to the classical world, and it is only in legend and popular tradition that the older usage survives. Only in the sense, then, that Cadmus was a non-Semitic and a non-Syrian Phoenician (which agrees with his genealogical connections, which are neither Syrian nor Semite), the Cadmean letters were a "Phoenician" script. Long after that script had been lost in the general submergence of the culture to which it belonged, there lingered an oral tradition of the accomplishment, as shadowy as Cadmus himself and all the other figures of those ancient epic genealogies which similarly survived out of the vanished golden age of higher civilisation.

All this, it will be replied, is to take Greek heroic legend (*more Myronico*) much too literally. But it is only on the assumption that Cadmus and his letters (like Minos and his bull and his double-axe palace of winding corridors so sensationally justified by Sir Arthur Evans' excavation of Knossos) are a genuine tradition that they cause us any trouble and give us anything to explain. If they are mere myth they will vex no one. But if the myth must be rationalised and explained, I have tried to show what the ultimate rational explanation may be.

When Herodotus recorded his opinion that the Greeks had been illiterate until Cadmus brought them his letters, he was presumably correct, since the wandering Indo-European tribes were illiterate. But when he jumped to the conclusion that the letters of Cadmus the Phoenician must have been one and the same with those Phoenician characters from which his own classical alphabet was known to have been derived, he was misled by the shift in the meaning of a word. The true Cadmean letters were not the archaic seventh or sixth century Boeotian Greek script which he could so readily decipher on the three tripods in Ismenian Apollo's sanctuary, but strange painted symbols like those on the pots even then lying buried in the central hillock which local tradition still venerated as the Cadmea.

* * * * *

Centuries after Herodotus, the Hellenised Jew Josephus put his finger on the sore spot in the Cadmean tradition when he said that although those who favored a very early date for the

invention of letters in Greece claimed that they had been learned from Cadmus and his Phoenicians, yet no record from that time, "preserved either in temples or on public monuments, could be produced. . . . Throughout the whole range of Greek literature no undisputed work is found more ancient than the poetry of Homer. His date, however, is clearly later than the Trojan war; and even he, they say, did not leave his poems in writing."⁷

This famous passage,—the head and cornerstone on which Wolf built his notorious *Prolegomena*,—is often brushed aside with deprecatory remarks on the credibility of Josephus. After all, it is intimated, Josephus was a Jewish patriot with an anti-Hellenic bias; and such a statement has only a doubtful and tendentious worth. It has escaped such critics that the general accomplishments of Josephus as a historian have nothing whatever to do with this particular passage, which has very special claims to authority.

It will be recalled that Josephus' ambitious work on the Jewish antiquities had met with harsh criticism from the phil-Hellenes of his day. As an *apologia pro opere suo* Josephus composed the pamphlet which bears the unfortunate title "*Against Apion*." Querulously he begins:

In my history . . . I have, I think, made sufficiently clear to any who may peruse that work the extreme antiquity of our Jewish race. . . . Since however I observe that a considerable number of persons, influenced by the malicious calumnies of certain individuals, discredit the statements in my history concerning our antiquity. . . . I consider it my duty to devote a brief treatise to all these points.

Then follow the crucial sentences:

As witnesses to my statements I propose to call the writers who, *in the estimate of the Greeks, are the most trustworthy authorities* on antiquity as a whole. The authors of scurrilous and mendacious statements about us will be shown to be confuted by themselves.⁸

Josephus' reply to his critics is therefore to be based not on Jewish opinion or disputable assertions but on the accepted

⁷ Josephus, *Against Apion*, I, 11-12. This and the following passages are quoted from the translation in the Loeb Classical Library.

⁸ *Against Apion*, I, 4, from the Loeb translation. The italics are mine.

beliefs of the Greeks themselves as recorded in their own most reputable writers. Patently, any appeal to contested theories or uncertain facts would militate against Josephus' position. Only the *vox totius antiquitatis*, to borrow Wolf's phrase, will serve his purpose. In the course of his pamphlet he might forget or neglect this primary precept, but surely not in the paragraphs immediately following such a pronouncement. Accordingly when, immediately after this prelude, he refers to the comparative modernity of the founding of the Greek cities, the development of their arts, the compilation of their laws, and most particularly the lateness of their pursuit of historical composition, he obviously cannot be appealing to anything but accepted Greek opinion and tradition. When he claims that even the Greeks themselves admit the greater antiquity of the records kept by the Egyptians, Chaldeans, and Phoenicians, he is making no startling demands on our credulity or on that of his ancient public. And if, without shift of tone or emphasis, he immediately passes to the remark that the Greeks "were late and reluctant in learning the alphabet" and quotes as evidence the absence of any surviving early inscriptions, asserts that Homer was their first author, and that even his works were orally transmitted, we have no excuse for distorting these statements into anything less than the current opinion of the Flavian Age, based on the "testimony which the Greeks themselves believe most worthy of credence."

Were it possible for us to adduce a mass of conflicting doctrine or point to surviving testimony from antiquity in support of a contrary position, we might be tempted to accuse Josephus of false pretences. As it is, we must accept him. When he proceeds to support his position by asserting that the most ancient public records of the Athenians were the laws on homicide drafted by Draco,⁹ that the Arcadians were even later in learning the lore of letters,⁹ that the first Greeks to essay historical compositions, such as Cadmus of Miletus and Acusilaus of Argos, lived but a short time before the Persian invasion of Greece,¹⁰ he is soberly stating only what we ourselves to-day very generally accept and believe.

Until something different turns up, why should we insist on

⁹ *Op. cit.*, I, 21.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, I, 13.

being wiser than "the most trustworthy" Greek authorities and with characteristic modern insolence waive aside our only good testimony to the general view of ancient scholarship on the antiquity of their alphabet? I have tried to show elsewhere¹¹ that modern archaeological knowledge imposes a like conclusion and that the Phoenician alphabet came into Greece with the Oriental contact in the latter half of the eighth century B. C. Only if, like Herodotus, we are perturbed by the legend of Cadmus of Thebes and, like Herodotus but with much less excuse, are unable to distinguish between Helladic and Hellenic script, can we still pursue the impossible Phoenician mirage into pre-history and confuse the Ionic alphabet with the "letters of Cadmus the Phoenician."

RHYS CARPENTER.

BYRN MAWR COLLEGE.

¹¹ *A. J. A.*, XXXVII (1933), 8-29. Subsequent developments have only confirmed the accuracy of the position there taken, as I am showing in a supplementary article in that journal.

SCIPIO TETTIUS' INDEX LIBRORUM NONDUM
EDITORUM.

[A list of Greek and Latin texts still unedited, compiled by Scipio Tettius ca. 1555, gives some valuable notices of sixteenth century collections of manuscripts in Rome. It also includes several titles of lost works purporting to be extant at the time. Most of these prove to be due to misstatements or misunderstandings.]

The task of transferring classical literature from manuscript codices to printed editions has been long and arduous. With the dawn of the renaissance the demand for copies of the classics increased spectacularly, and some texts were multiplied by hand in the fifteenth century from single mediaeval manuscripts. This process gave rise to a distinction between originals and copies. The invention of printing was at first regarded as an extension of the copying process; it was not realized that a printed text was in an entirely different state of permanence and availability. Catalogues of the fifteenth century usually list printed books and manuscript codices indiscriminately. As the use of the press increased, however, the distinction between print and manuscript overshadowed the distinction between originals and copies; and the energies of scholars were absorbed merely in getting classical literature into the new medium. It was only after this task was in the main accomplished that attention was again turned to the quality of the manuscripts. Unfortunately many of the originals had been lost in the meantime.

The document which is the subject of this article comes from an early stage of the printing period of classical scholarship. It is an attempt to survey the field that yet remained for conquest by the printing press. Philippe Labbé, in his *Nova bibliotheca mss. librorum, sive Specimen antiquarum lectionum latinarum et graecarum* (Paris, 1653), published a small work entitled *Ex Indice librorum nondum editorum confecto à Scipione Tettio Neapolitano ante annos LXXX* (pp. 166-174 Labbé, *add. corr.* pp. 384 f.).¹ Scipio Tettius of Naples is an obscure person.² The editio princeps of Apollodorus' *Bibliotheca* by Aegius at Rome in 1555 was based upon a *codex Tettianus*

¹ I have procured photostats of these pages from the New York Public Library.

² See Zedler's *Universal-Lexicon*, XLII, 1502.

among others, and carried an appendix *de Apollodoris* by Tettius himself.

The *index* published by Labbé³ consists of a short list (about 25 items) of *libri latini nondum editi* (pp. 166-167) and a much longer list (over 200 items) of *libri nondum editi graeci* (pp. 167-174). In each part the *libri* are cited in alphabetical order of authors' names, and the majority of the titles are followed by the name of the library in which they were found. The libraries most often cited are these:

Bibliotheca pontificia, Vaticana

*Bibliotheca Cardinalis à sancto Angelo (quae nunc [1565] est
Cardinalis Farnesii fratris)**

*Bibliotheca Cardinalis à sancta Flora (nunc [1565] Card.
Sforzae fratris)*

Bibliotheca Cardinalis Carpensis

*Bibliotheca Petri Strozae (quae primum [before 1550] fuit
Cardinalis Ridolfi, postea [1558] Katharinae Mediceae
Reginae Francorum)*

*In domo Diegi Hurtadi Mendozae Hispani
Florentina, Medicea.*

The libraries of St. Augustine at Rome, St. Mark at Venice, and of Fulvius Ursinus, Achilles Statius, Cardinal Sirleto, and Henry Scrimger are also cited for one or two titles each.

All of these libraries except the Medicean and Marcian were in Rome in the middle of the sixteenth century, but most of

³ Labbé published from a copy in the hand of Claude Dupuy preserved in the library of his sons Pierre and Jacques. The MS is now No. 651 in the Collection Dupuy in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Cat. Léon Dorez, Paris, 1899). There is an apograph once owned by Labbé himself among the Libri MSS acquired by the Bodleian (Madan, *A Summary Catalogue*, V [1905], p. 66 f., No. 24763). After his book had gone to press Labbé found another copy, from which he printed *addenda* and *corrigenda* (pp. 384 f.). There is also a copy of the *index* among the Peiresc MSS at Carpentras (Cat. gén. des mss. des bibl. publ. de France, XXXV [= Carpentras II, Paris, 1899], p. 177, No. 1769, fol. 295 ff.).

⁴ The *quae*-clauses, which I have placed in parentheses, are added to the first mention of the respective libraries and are probably interpolated, perhaps by Claude Dupuy. If so, it emerges from the designation of the *Bibliotheca Petri Strozae* that the list was compiled between 1550 and 1558. For many reasons, which may be observed in the course of the discussion, this date is preferable to that suggested by Labbé (*ante annos LXXX = 1573*).

them have migrated since Tettius' time. The *Cardinalis à sancto Angelo* was Ranuccio Farnese (d. 1565). His library passed to his brother Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (d. 1589) and ultimately to the Biblioteca Borbonica (Nazionale) at Naples.⁵ The *Cardinalis à sancta Flora* was Guido Ascanio Sforza (d. 1564), and his brother was Cardinal Alessandro Sforza (d. 1581). The Sforza library passed through the possession of Cardinal Domenico Passionei (d. 1761) into the Biblioteca Angelica in Rome. In the early part of the last century, however, a large number of MSS disappeared from the Angelica and were acquired by Giov. Franc. de Rossi (d. 1855), whose library went to the Jesuit College in Vienna. Most of the titles cited from Sforza MSS by Tettius are found in the Rossiana.⁶ The *Cardinalis Carpensis* was Rodolfo Pio of Carpi (d. 1564). His library was acquired from his uncle Alberto Pio (d. 1531) and is now in the Biblioteca Estense at Modena, where most of the titles cited by Tettius are found.⁷ The *Bibliotheca Petri Strozae* was acquired from Catherine de Medici for the Bibliothèque du Roi in 1599. It is the largest and most valuable acquisition of Greek MSS ever made by the Bibliothèque

⁵ F. Benoit, "La Bibliothèque grecque du cardinal Farnèse," *Mél. d'Arch. et d'Hist.*, XL (1923), 167-198.

⁶ The ingredients of the Angelica were discussed by Piccolomini, *Stud. It.*, IV (1896), 7-32; VI (1898), 167-184. He gives a list of *Codices deperditi*, pp. 181-184. The Greek MSS in the Rossiana were catalogued by Van de Vorst, *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, XXIII (1906), 492-508, 537-550; and more in detail by Gollöb, *Sitzb. Wien, Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, 164 (1910), III. Abh. Rossi MSS 5, 8, 13, 17, 18, 19, 22, 24, 25, 29, 31, 39, and 41 answer to missing Angelica MSS in Piccolomini's list. Rossi 21, 23, and 37 are also from the Angelica, since like many of the present Angelica MSS, they once belonged to the library of St. Sylvester. Rossi 35 and 38 are attested as Sforza MSS by citations in Tettius' *index*. Rossi 28 once belonged to George of Corinth, who also owned several of the present Angelica MSS. See Piccolomini, p. 16.

⁷ V. Puntoni, "Indice dei codici greci della biblioteca Estense di Modena," *Stud. It.*, IV (1896), 379-536. Several of the titles cited by Tettius in *bibl. Card. Carpensis* are found in MSS bearing the names of Alberto Pio and George Valla. Cf. an anonymous collator of Epictetus cited by Schenkl (ed. Epict. [Leipzig, 1916], p. lviii): *e bibliotheca Cardinalis Carpensis, quam Albertus ille Pius . . . a Georgii Vallae hereditibus . . . emerat . . .*

Nationale.⁸ The library of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza passed into the Escorial in 1576 and constitutes its chief fund of Greek MSS.⁹ In many cases Tettius' notices would be of use in segregating these sixteenth century collections in the modern libraries with which they have been merged.

Most of the individual titles listed by Tettius are of no particular interest, since they refer to texts that occur frequently in manuscripts and are well known in print. Some of the titles, however, refer to rare or unique texts and may be of value either for shedding new light on the history of the manuscripts involved or for showing the sources from which Tettius derived his information. I shall first discuss the few titles of this kind that seem to deserve attention.

At the beginning of each discussion the title is quoted as it is given by Tettius. The citations are from the pages of Labbé, followed in parentheses by citations of Josiah Simler, *Bibliotheca instituta et collecta primum a Conrado Gesnero, deinde in epitomen redacta . . . , iam vero postremo . . . in duplum aucta* (Zurich, 1574).¹⁰ This work incorporated Tettius' list almost entire, and through it some of the information in the *index* percolated into Fabricius and other later authors.¹¹

Tettius, p. 168 (Simler, p. 61): *Arcadii Grammatica*. The text that answers to this title is found in *Paris. gr. 2102*, 'Ἀρκαδίου περὶ τόνων. It has been shown to be a forgery perpetrated by Constantine Palaeocappa, who was employed in the royal library at Fontainebleau 1543-1550.¹² In the 1550 catalogue of Fontainebleau this treatise is listed as 'Ἀρκαδίου γραμματικῇ in Palaeocappa's own hand.¹³ Since Tettius also gives

⁸ The contemporary catalogue of the Ridolfi collection, showing the provenance of the single MSS, is preserved in *Paris. gr. 3074*. A publication has long been promised. See note 21.

⁹ Ch. Graux, *Essai sur les origines du fonds grec de l'Escorial* (Paris, 1880), pp. 163-273. In reconstructing the library of Mendoza, Graux overlooked the evidence furnished by Tettius' *index*.

¹⁰ I have used this work in the Newberry Library in Chicago.

¹¹ Simler mentions Scipio Tettus (*sic*), p. 2 (Abydenus) and p. 60 (Apronianus).

¹² L. Cohn, "Konstantin Palaeokappa und Jacob Diassorinos," *Philologische Abhandlungen Martin Hertz . . . dargebracht* (Berlin, 1888), pp. 123-143, esp. 141 f. Cf. *Real-Encycl.*, II, 1153-56.

¹³ Omont, *Catalogues des mss. grecs de Fontainebleau* (Paris, 1889), p. 36, No. 97.

this title, it appears that he learned of it from the catalogue and not from the codex.¹⁴ The codex was written at Fontainebleau and had never been in Italy, while it is quite likely that knowledge of the catalogue, if not an actual copy of it, circulated in Rome during Tettius' time. In this first instance, therefore, Tettius' knowledge of the work he cites was not directly from the MS in which it occurred.

Tettius, p. 170 (Simler, p. 435): *Isigoni liber de aquis in Florentina*. The author Isigonus is known from slight citations in Pliny's *Natural History* and elsewhere (*F. H. G.*, IV, 435-7; *Real-Encycl.*, IX, 2082). He is chiefly known, however, from numerous citations (Ἰσίγονος ἐν δευτέρῳ ἀπίστων) in a small anonymous paradoxographical compilation entitled κρηναὶ καὶ λίμναι καὶ πηγαὶ καὶ ποταμοὶ κτλ., which is preserved in *Laur.* 56-1 and its apographs;¹⁵ and this is probably the text to which Tettius refers. It was discovered by H. Stephanus on his youthful visit to Florence in 1553 and published by him in 1557 under the name Sotion, drawn from Phot., *Bibl.*, 189: Σωτίωνος τῶν σποράδην περὶ ποταμῶν καὶ κρηνῶν καὶ λιμνῶν παραδοξολογουμένων. *Laur.* 56-1 is the archetype of many other unique texts, among them the *Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi*, which was also copied by Stephanus. For a MS of it in his hand is preserved at Leiden (*Voss. gr. qu.* 18).

Tettius, p. 174 (Simler, p. 688): *Xenophontis Ephesij Ephesiaca libris octo in Florentina*. Xenophon of Ephesus occurs only in *Laur. conv. soppr.* 627, which is also the only MS of Chariton of Aphrodisias,¹⁶ of the complete text of Longus'

¹⁴ The title Ἀρκαδίου γραμματικὴ occurs indeed in *Paris. gr.* 2603, inscribed over Theodosius' epitome of the καθολικὴ προσῳδία of Herodian, which was the chief source for Palaeocappa's text in *Paris.* 2102. But *Paris.* 2603 came from Colbert and originally from the de Mesmes collection of the sixteenth century, which contained many MSS of Palaeocappa (Pulch in *Hermes*, XVII [1882], 177 ff.; cf. Simler, p. 61: *Arcadij Grammatica Graeca, in bibliotheca Henrici Memmij*). *Paris.* 2603 therefore is of the same origin as 2102 and was equally unknown to Scipio Tettius in Rome.

¹⁵ V. Rose, *Anec.*, I (Berlin, 1864), 1-26; R. Schöll, *Hermes*, III (1869), 274-282; C. Landi, *Stud. Ital.*, III (1895), 531-548.

¹⁶ Simler (p. 119) seems to be the source of the tradition of a Vatican MS of Chariton: *Charitonis historia amatoria Graece extat Romae in Vaticana. Si inscriptio non est falsa & non potius de Charitone narratio ficta est*. Cf. Fabricius, *Bibl. Graec. lib. V cap.* 6 (VI, p. 807,

Daphnis and Chloe, and of a distinctive text of Achilles Tatius. In the MS Chariton in eight books is followed by Xenophon in five.¹⁷ Tettius fails to cite Chariton and confuses the numbers of the books. This MS also was used by H. Stephanus. For Simler says he possessed a MS of Xenophon of Ephesus; and Jacobs identified the *codex Florentinus* of Achilles Tatius, collated by Stephanus in *Brit. Mus. Old Royal 16-D-XVIII*, with *Laur. conv. soppr.* 627.¹⁸

Both of the Florentine MSS just discussed were in a sense discovered by H. Stephanus, presumably on his visit to Florence in 1553. Both of the titles quoted from them by Tettius are somewhat inaccurate and confused, and are apparently based on an indirect knowledge of the MSS. I suspect that Tettius heard of them orally from Stephanus himself, when he visited Rome at a later stage in his Italian travels. I have not, however, extended this investigation to the other titles quoted from Florentine libraries by Tettius.

Tettius, p. 169 (Simler, p. 164): *Dicaearchi Geographia apud Henricum Scringenum Scotum Bibliothecarium Fuggerorum*; p. 171: *Marciani peripli libri tres in Bibl. Henrici Scringeri Scoti*; p. 173 (Simler, p. 619): *Scylacis Caryandei geographica apud Henricum Scringenum Scotum Fuggerorum Bibliothecarium*. Henry Scrimger (1506-1572) of Dundee in Scotland was a professor of law at Geneva after 1563. For some years before he had been employed by Ulrich Fugger of Augsburg in collecting MSS. Ulrich Fugger migrated to Heidelberg in 1571 and at his death in 1584 his library passed into the Palatine. The rare titles cited by Tettius are found in *Pal. gr.* 142. Now a number of Palatine MSS bear on their fly-leaves the name *Henricus*. Christ has shown that all these *Henricus* MSS came from Ulrich Fugger, and he conjectures that they were acquired for him by Henry Scrimger.¹⁹ *Pal. gr.* 142 is a *Henricus* MS,

Hamb. ed.). Simler's misgivings were doubtless justified; see below, p. 23 f.

¹⁷ *Stud. Ital.*, I (1893), 175.

¹⁸ Fr. Jacobs ed. Achilles Tatius (Leipzig, 1821), p. lxxix; cf. Warner and Gilson, *Cat. of Western MSS in the Old Royal and King's Collections* (London, 1921), II, 194.

¹⁹ K. Christ, "Zur Geschichte der griechischen Handschriften der Palatina," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, XXXVI (1919), 3-34, 49-66, esp. 8 f., 55-58.

and Tettius' notice of it proves that Christ's 'reine Hypothese' was right.

Tettius, p. 173 (Simler, p. 578): *Photii epitome ducentorum auctorum, & lexicon per alphabetum, in Bibliothecis Mendoza et Stroziana*. The former is the so-called *Bibliotheca* of Photius, and Mendoza's MS of it is now *Scorial. Ψ-I-9/10*. Photius' *λεξικὸν κατὰ στοιχεῖον* occurs, aside from modern apographs and recent discoveries,²⁰ only in the Gale MS in Trinity College, Cambridge (0-3-9 = 1181), from which it was edited by Porson in 1822. Neither the *Bibliotheca* nor the *Lexicon* of Photius occurs among the Strozzi MSS in the Bibliothèque Nationale; but a parchment MS of the *Lexicon* is mentioned in the sixteenth century catalogues of the collection.²¹ This Strozzi MS is probably identical with the Gale MS at Cambridge, having strayed from the collection before it was acquired by the Bibliothèque du Roi in 1599. It was apparently brought from Florence to England about 1600 by Richard Thomson, who wrote of it to Joseph Scaliger.²²

In addition to the titles occurring frequently in manuscripts and the titles occurring in rare or unique manuscripts, there are several notices in Tettius' list which refer to texts that do not occur in manuscripts at all and are in fact not extant. Since their inclusion in the *index librorum nondum editorum* implies that they were extant in Tettius' time, their authenticity is worth investigating. Aside from the integrity of Tettius himself, which I have found no grounds to impugn, this depends upon the character of his sources of information. We have already seen that the *index* does not represent exclusively texts that Tettius had seen in manuscript himself, but that it included some he had learned of from others, either orally or in reading. We have also seen how the knowledge of a text might be somewhat distorted in this transmission. In view of such possible misunderstandings on the part of Tettius, the best procedure is

²⁰ Reitzenstein, *Der Anfang des Lexicons des Photios* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1907).

²¹ Montfaucon, *Bibl. Bibl.* (Paris, 1739), II, 770b; *Mél. d'Arch. et d'Hist.* VI (1886), 261; *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, XLIX (1888), 322; *Bibliofilia*, XXXI (1929), 192.

²² . . . Josephi Scaligeri . . . *Epistolae* (Leiden, 1627), pp. 171, 502; cf. Fabricius, *Bibl. Graeca lib. V cap. 38* (IX, p. 568 Hamb. ed.).

to trace his information to its source if possible and to determine whether in its original form it betrays any knowledge of lost authors or works which could not have been derived from the extant classical tradition. In the following paragraphs the most important of Tettius' non-extant titles are examined by this method.

Tettius, p. 170: *Epicharmus Cous Medicus in Vaticana*. This notice derives from Raphael Maffei Volaterranus, *Commentariorum urbanorum* (Rome, 1506) lib. XV (fol. 213^r): *Epicharmus Cous auditor Pythagorae reliquit de natura rerum deque medicina Commentarios qui adhuc exstant in bibliotheca vaticana*. Conrad Gesner, *Bibliotheca universalis, sive Catalogus omnium scriptorum locupletissimus* (Zurich, 1545),²³ s. n. *Epicharm.*, quotes from Maffei, adding the statement *medicus fuit insignis* apparently from Pliny, who cites Epicharmus among the medical authorities for *Nat. Hist.* XX-XXVII. Since Tettius also says *medicus*, he seems to have used Gesner rather than Maffei. Maffei, moreover, drew upon Diog. Laert., VIII, 3: 'Επίχαρμος Ἡλοβαλοῦς Κῳιος. καὶ οὗτος ἤκουσε Πυθαγόρου . . . οὗτος ἱπομνήματα καταλέλοιπεν ἐν οἷς φυσιολογεῖ γνωμολογεῖ ἰατρολογεῖ. Only small fragments of these Pseudepicharmean works remain, scattered through Greek and Latin literature,²⁴ and it is only by a gross exaggeration that the works themselves could be said to be extant.

Tettius, p. 173: *Prisci Panitae historiarum libri octo, in Vaticana*. This notice also derives from Maffei, lib. XVIII (fol. 259^r): *Priscus alter Panites genere. Sophista Theodosi Iunioris epistularum Magister fuit Qui se describit missum fuisse ab eo oratorem in Scythiam ad Actilam Unnorum regem ac eius regiam pulcherrime describit magnifico opere sumptuosoque factam scripsit historiam Constantinopolitanam & ipsius Actilae libris .VIII. preterea declamationes & epistolas est auctor Suidas. Haec hodie historia in bibliotheca vaticana continetur*. This passage is quoted by Gesner (fol. 570b). Suidas' notice is as follows: Πρίσκος Πανίτης σοφιστής, γεγονὼς ἐπὶ τῶν χρόνων Θεοδοσίου τοῦ μικροῦ. ἔγραψεν ἱστορίαν Βυζαντιακὴν καὶ τὰ κατ' Ἀτίλλαν ἐν βιβλίοις ἢ μελέτας τε ῥητορικὰς καὶ ἐπιστολάς. Extensive remains of Priscus' history (*F. H. G.*, IV, 69-110) are found

²³ These two works also I have used in the Newberry Library in Chicago.

²⁴ Kaibel, *Comic. Graec. Frag.*, I (Berlin, 1899), pp. 133-147.

in the Constantinian *Excerpta de legationibus* under the title ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας Πρίσκου ῥήτορος καὶ σοφιστοῦ τῆς Γοτθικῆς. It is also cited briefly by Euagrius (Πρίσκος ὁ ῥήτωρ), Jordanes (*Priscus historicus*), *Chronicon Paschale* (Πρίσκος ὁ Θραξ) and Theophanes (Περσικὸς ὁ Θραξ). The title *epistularum magister* given by Maffei occurs in no other source.²⁵ The account of the embassy to Attila, however, is preserved in the *Excerpta* and in Jordanes (frs. 8-10 Müller). In fact Maffei's statements coincide with Jordanes against the *Excerpta*, since in the latter Priscus is merely an attaché of Maximin the ambassador, while in Jordanes and Maffei he was appointed by Theodosius himself. The *Excerpta*, moreover, were preserved in a single MS which appears about 1566 in the possession of the Spaniard Juan Paez de Castro, from whom it passed into the Escorial.²⁶ It is not likely that Maffei had access to this MS in 1506. Practically all of Maffei's information, therefore, could derive from Suidas and Jordanes; there is very little to substantiate the alleged Vatican MS of Priscus.

Tettius, p. 173 (Simler, p. 636): *Stasini Poetae Cypriaca in Vaticana*. The poems of the Epic Cycle are known chiefly from the synopses taken from the *Chrestomathy* of Proclus, which are preserved in *Ven. Marc. gr. 454*. By the loss of a leaf, however, the synopsis of the *Cypria* is lacking in this MS and is preserved separately in a few other MSS of the *Iliad* (*Scorial. Ω-I-12*, etc.).²⁷ None of these MSS occurs in the Vatican and none assigns the poem to Stasinus. The tradition of Stasinus' authorship is at present as follows:

Athenaeus, VIII, 10 (334 b), XV, 30 (682 d)

Proclus, *Chrest.*, in Phot., *Bibl.*, 239 (319 a 36)

Stobaeus, III, 31, 12 Hense (*Apostol.*, *Mant. Prov.*, I, 71)

Schol. AD, Il., I, 5

Tzetzes on Lycophr. 511, *Chiliad.*, XIII, 638

²⁵ Baptista Fulgosius, *De dictis factisque memorabilibus collectanea* (Milan, 1509), lists *Priscus magister epistolarum Theodosii ii* among the *autores* at the beginning of his work; but he does not cite his sources in the text and it is practically impossible to determine what he had derived from Priscus. It is probable that he merely used Maffei.

²⁶ Graux, *Essai sur les origines du fonds grec de l'Escorial*, pp. 93-97.

²⁷ T. W. Allen, *Homeri Opera*, V (Oxford, 1912), p. 102.

Athenaeus and Proclus do not assign the *Cypria* positively to Stasinus, and for this reason Proclus withheld the name from the title of his synopsis. Tettius' notice probably rests indirectly, as with Epicharmus and Priscus, on one of these sources. Gesner knows of Stasinus only from Stobaeus.

In this connection we may cite a notice from Gesner (fol. 571a) which lists among the unedited works of Proclus the Lycian *eius Chistomachia, quae conditur in Vaticana Bibliotheca Romae*. The *Chrestomathy* is doubtless intended; and the notice may refer to Photius' epitome (*Bibl.*, 239) or to the synopses of the Epic Cycle as preserved in *Marc.* 454. The synopses are never known to have been in the Vatican, however, and Photius' *Bibliotheca* occurs in the old Vatican collection only in *Vat. gr.* 1189 of the sixteenth century.²⁸

Tettius, p. 171: *Interpretes Homeri XXX. antiqui, Tomis duobus*. Perhaps this notice refers to the *Scholia Minora* of Ps.-Didymus edited by Janus Lascaris at Rome in 1517 under the title *σχόλια παλαιὰ τῶν πάντ' δοκίμων εἰς τὴν Ὀμήρου Ἰλιάδα*. There are two MSS of these scholia in the Vatican (*Vat. gr.* 32, 33).

Tettius, p. 170 (Simler, p. 270): *Heliconii Chronica*. This work²⁹ is known only from the biographical notices of Hesychius Milesius in Suidas: *Ἑλικώνιος σοφιστὴς Βυζάντιος ἔγραψε χρονικὴν ἐπιτομὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀδάμ μέχρι Θεοδοσίου τοῦ μεγάλου ἐν βιβλίοις ι'*. Hesychius also cites Heliconius as a source in his notices of *Ἀρριανὸς Νικομηδεύς* and *Ἀπίων ὁ Πλειστονίκου*. Maffei repeats these notices from Suidas in such a way as to make it appear that he had used his *autor Heliconius* first hand, and this is probably the reason why Tettius included the work in his list.

Tettius, p. 171: *Hystri Callimachi cognomento Ethici historia in Vaticana*. This notice seems to be an absurd confusion between the Atthidographer Istrus, whom Athenaeus calls *ὁ Καλλιμάχειος*, and the mediaeval geographer Aethicus Ister (*Real-Encycl.*, I, 697-699).

The preceding examples show that the MSS in the Vatican were widely but vaguely known in the sixteenth century. Maffei, himself a custodian of the library, is found to have made unwarranted statements about it. Both Gesner and Simler

²⁸ E. Martini, "Textgeschichte der Bibliothek des Patriarchen Photius von Konstantinopel, I. Theil," *Sächs. Abh. Phil.-Hist. Kl.* 1911, No. VI.

²⁹ Christ, *Gesch. der gr. Litt.*, II, p. 1034.

quote a large number of titles from the Vatican, some of which are no longer found there. While Tettius' citations from other libraries are fairly trustworthy, his notices from the Vatican are in part indirect and unauthentic. It would be instructive to know exactly from what source Gesner, Tettius, Simler, and perhaps others drew their knowledge of the contents of the Vatican, so that we might see through the glamor that has obscured that library. In the meantime we must handle early notices of the Vatican with caution.

Tettius, pp. 168, 385: *Arriani Parthica, Bithyniaca, Alanica, quae post Alexandrum*; p. 174, *Theopompi & Theophrasti librorum epitome cum Photio*. These titles are certainly drawn from Photius' *Bibliotheca*. Arrian's titles Παρθικά, τὰ κατὰ Ἀλέξανδρον, Βιθυνιακά, Ἀλανική are mentioned in order in Phot., *Bibl.*, 58; and there follow epitomes of the *Parthica* (58), τὰ κατὰ Ἀλέξανδρον (*Anabasis*, 91), τὰ μετὰ Ἀλέξανδρον (92), *Bithyniaca* (93). The *Alanica (historia)* is scarcely known otherwise, and Tettius evidently excerpted it from *Bibl.*, 58. Photius also epitomizes Theopompus (176) and Theophrastus (278).

Tettius, p. 169: *Attici Platonici liber unus*. This author is cited frequently in Proclus' commentaries on Plato and excerpted at length in Eusebius' *Praeparatio Evangelica*. The Eusebius excerpts occur separately in *Scorial. T-II-5*, which belonged to Mendoza and is doubtless the MS to which Tettius refers.

Tettius, p. 167 (Simler, p. 2): *Abydeni Assyriaca Historia*. Excerpts from this work (*F. H. G.*, IV, 279-285) are preserved in Eusebius' *Chronicle* in Armenian, and hence in Syncellus, Cyril, and Moses of Chorene. None of these texts was published in Tettius' time. Some of the excerpts recur in Eusebius' *Praeparatio Evangelica* under the title ἡ Ἀβυδηνοῦ περὶ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων γραφή, and it is certain that Tettius' notice derives ultimately from this source. He had perhaps seen them separately, as he had Atticus Platonius. He was wrong in including these excerpts as unedited, since the *Praeparatio Evangelica* had been printed by R. Stephanus at Paris in 1544.

Tettius, p. 169 (Simler, p. 189): *Eunapii historia & vitae Sophistarum apud Diegum Hurtadum et Cardinalem à S. Angelo*.³⁰ The history of Eunapius (*F. H. G.*, IV, 7-56) is

³⁰ Simler (p. 189 b) adds: *Eiusdem historiarum libri 14. & vitae Sophistarum, Romae servantur in Vaticana Graece*. The number of books is known only from Photius.

known from Phot., *Bibl.*, 77, the Constantinian *Excerpta de legationibus gentium* and *de sententiis*, and fragments in Suidas. It was a continuation of the history of Dexippus, beginning with Claudius (II, 270 A. D.) and reaching to Arcadius and Honorius (404 A. D.). The *Excerpta* were not known to Tettius, and his notice of the history may refer to Photius. Gesner (fol. 228 b), however, gives a strange account of this work, which Tettius may have seen also: *Eunapii Graeci authoris historia de Caesaribus ab Herodiani temporibus usque ad sua, Venetiis servatur manuscripta*. The histories of Eunapius and of Herodian were similar in that both narrated events under successive reigns of emperors. Herodian ended with Maximus and Balbinus (238 A. D.); and Eunapius' work, beginning in 270, might have been regarded as a continuation. Gesner's notice is hearsay, but it seems to be substantial. There is a tradition that Eunapius' history was extant in Constantinople in the latter part of the sixteenth century, and this may have reached the ears of Gesner also.³¹

Tettius, p. 167: *Varronis Liber de Arithmetica*. This work is not preserved, although it seems to have survived the Middle Ages. There was a MS of Petrarch at Milan in 1390 which contained a *librum M. Varronis de mensuris orbis terrae, librum quidem magnum in antiquissima littera, in quo sunt quaedam geometricae figurae*.³² The sixth century *codex Arcerianus* of the Latin *gromatici*, discovered at Bobbio in 1493³³ and now at Wolfenbüttel, contains the title *liber marci barronis de geometria ad rufum silbium*, but the leaves which contained the text have been lost.³⁴ In 1517 Andreas Alciati used a MS of the *gromatici* in Milan from which he quoted the title *M. Varro de arithmetica*; ³⁵ and in 1563 Vertranius Maurus said he had seen Varro's *de arithmetica libellus* at Rome *ex bibliotheca Rudolphi Cardinalis asservatum apud Laurentem Strossium Cardinalem*.³⁶ Tettius probably refers to the last MS. It is

³¹ Martin Crusius, *Turcograecia* (Basle, 1584), p. 498, gives a list of texts seen by Stephan Gerlach at Constantinople. Among them are *Historici* . . . 'Αγαθίας, Εὐνάπιος. See Fabricius, *Bibl. Gr. lib. V cap. 5* (VI, p. 686 Hamb. ed.).

³² C. Thulin, "Die Handschriften des Corpus agrimensorum Romanorum," *Berlin Abh. Phil.-hist. Kl. 1911, Anhang. Abhand. II*, p. 16.

³³ See note 39.

³⁵ Thulin, p. 40.

³⁴ Thulin, *loc. cit.*

³⁶ *Rh. Mus.*, VI (1848), 505.

difficult to see how these four items are to be combined. Thulin believes the Petrarch and Alciati MSS are one and the same, now lost, and different from the *codex Arcerianus*. If so, the Rudolphi-Strozzi MS might be the same as the Petrarch-Alciati, or derived from it. The *de arithmetica* and *de geometria* both occur with the *gromatici*; and it is natural to suppose that they are variant titles of the same work, although Ritschl postulated separate books with those titles in his reconstruction of Varro's *disciplinarum libri IX*.³⁷

Tettius, p. 167: *Vellei Paterculi liber prior integer*. Gesner fol. 676a: *Vellei Paterculi fragmentum de bello Augusti Caesaris contra Sueuos in Noricis et Vindelicia, extat Viennae Austriae apud Vuolffgangum Lazium: pars uti arbitror libri posterioris*. The text of Velleius Paterculus³⁸ derives from the defective MS discovered at Murbach in Alsace by Beatus Rhenan in 1515, which is now lost. In the editio princeps (Basle, 1520) Rhenan states that he had heard of another MS at Milan, discovered by George Merula;³⁹ and perhaps Tettius' notice belongs to this tradition. The Vienna fragments referred to by Gesner are perhaps the same as those used by Aventinus (Johann Turmair, 1477-1534), who quotes Paterculus in his *Chronica* and *Annales Boiorum*.

Tettius, p. 167: *Plinii Senioris Historiarum libri 20*. Gesner s. n.: *Scriptsit praeterea de rebus Germanicis libros, quos Augustae Vindeliciorum extare ferunt*. Simler adds: *quos citat Tacitus [Ann., I, 69], & Cuspinianus, qui alicubi eos adhuc latere opinatur*. The twenty books of *German Wars* by Pliny the Elder are mentioned in Plin., *Epist.*, III, 5 and Suet., *de vir. ill.*⁴⁰ Joannis Cuspiniani . . . *de Caesaribus atque Imperatoribus Romanis opus insigne* appeared posthumously at Strassburg in 1540. I have not been able to find the reference to Pliny's *German Wars* in it.

³⁷ Ritschl, *Opuscula*, III, 359-364.

³⁸ A history of the text is given by R. Ellis in the *prolegomena* to his edition (Oxford, 1898).

³⁹ In 1493 George Merula brought to light a considerable number of valuable Latin MSS in Bobbio, among which was *Vellius Longus de orthographia*. This text may be the Velleius referred to by Rhenan. See O. von Gebhardt, "Ein Bücherfund in Bobbio," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, V (1888), 343-362, 383-431.

⁴⁰ Peter, *Hist. Rom. Frag.* (Leipzig, 1883), pp. 308-311.

A study of the index shows that Tettius did not confine himself to texts he had seen in manuscript with his own eyes, but that he also entered notices that rested on the statements of other scholars. In some cases those statements were exaggerated or deliberately false; in others Tettius seems to have misunderstood them. At any rate, aside from Eunapius and Varro, none of the notices of non-extant works is substantiated either by external or internal evidence. They often derive from fragments or mere references in extant sources. Nevertheless these exaggerated statements and unwarranted inferences have sometimes been repeated in more recent and standard works.⁴¹ One of the tasks of classical scholarship is to investigate the *Fortleben* of the works of ancient writers both lost and extant. Such traditions as those with which we have been dealing confuse the history of ancient books as long as they are not satisfactorily explained. While it has not been possible to dispose definitely of all the notices of lost works given by Tettius, it is hoped that the evidence presented will throw light on the general nature of such statements.

AUBREY DILLER.

⁴¹ For example, Müller's *Frag. Hist. Graec.*, IV, 70.

THE GREEK LETTER OF INTRODUCTION.

The earliest "Guide to Letter Writing" in existence is the brief work entitled *Τύποι Ἐπιστολικοί*, which, in the best manuscript, is wrongly assigned to the authorship of Demetrius of Phaleron.¹ This manual contains descriptions of twenty-one kinds of private letters, with examples of each type. Most of the examples are so very short that they seem to be intended merely to furnish a convenient framework for the ideas of the letter-writer, together with certain neat phrases which would suitably express his thoughts or feelings in particular situations. The types of letters described fall under the following general heads: "friendly" letters, letters of introduction, letters of criticism and blame, letters of thanks, consolation, advice, praise, and congratulation, letters which contain excuses or answers to criticism, and letters in which favors are requested.

This little work has been critically examined by H. Brinkmann,² and the evidence adduced by him has been somewhat amplified by V. Weichert³ and B. Olsson,⁴ who are in general agreement with his conclusions. Brinkmann makes it clear from internal evidence that the work comes from Egypt, and that it contains no indications of Christianity and none of the stylistic peculiarities of the fourth and later centuries after Christ.⁵ He then proceeds to compare the type letters with actual letters from the Greek papyri found in Egypt, and to examine the phraseology and vocabulary of the *Τύποι*, with a view to a closer dating. He concludes that the work was written between about 200 B. C. and 50 A. D., and thinks it probable that it belongs to the earlier part of this period.

Brinkmann's most definite arguments for a lower limit of about 50 A. D. have now been invalidated by the evidence of papyri discovered since the date of his article. He particularly

¹ V. Weichert, *Demetrii et Libanii qui ferunt Τύποι Ἐπιστολικοί et Ἐπιστολιμαῖοι Χαρακτῆρες*. Teubner, Leipzig, 1910, pp. 1-12; cf. R. Hercher, *Epistolographi Graeci*, Didot, Paris, 1873, pp. 1-6.

² Der älteste Briefsteller, *Rhein. Mus.*, 64 (1909), 310-17.

³ *Op. cit.*, xvii-xx.

⁴ *Papyrusbriefe aus der frühesten Römerzeit*, Diss., Uppsala, 1925, 7-9.

⁵ I. e., with the exception of the two obviously late letters at the end of the work, which are not contained in the best manuscript.

relies upon the expression ἐπισκοπῶν τοὺς ἐν οἴκῳ, found in the example of a "friendly" letter,⁶ and states that the phrase οἱ ἐν οἴκῳ, though common in the papyrus letters of the Ptolemaic period, disappears about 100 A. D., being replaced by οἱ ἐνοικοί, or by the adverbs πανοικεῖ and πανοικησίῃ. But the more recently published material shows frequent use of οἱ ἐν οἴκῳ in the second and third centuries, in spite of the appearance of the new expressions cited by Brinkmann.⁷ He also definitely dates this use of ἐπισκοπέω in the papyrus letters between 130 B. C. and 27 A. D. This word is not a very common one in these letters; in fact it occurs only five times between the dates set by Brinkmann.⁸ It is also found in five letters which are later than 27 A. D.⁹

Brinkmann lists also various other words and expressions which he thinks characteristic of the usage of the period before 50 A. D. Some of these can now be found in papyri of a later period, but in the following six cases we have no evidence that the usage continued after the date set by him:

(1) The use of αἰρέω in the expression γράφων ἡμῖν περὶ ὧν αἰρῇ (p. 3, 14-15) occurs only four times in the papyri, three cases being dated about 100 B. C., and one in 16 A. D.¹⁰

(2) The use of κρίνω in δι' ἐπιστολῆς ἔκρινα τοῦτο ποιῆσαι (p. 5, 10-11) is found in the papyrus letters five times, and only in the second and early first centuries B. C.¹¹

The uses of (3) ἀπάντησιν (p. 11, 4), (4) διασάφησον (p. 8, 1), (5) πυκνότερον (p. 3, 13), and (6) συμπαριστάμενος (p. 3, 14) which are found in the Τύποι appear to be discoverable nowhere else after the first century B. C.

⁶ P. 3, 13. (References to the Τύποι are made by the citation of page and line of the Teubner text.)

⁷ See Preisigke's *Wörterbuch der griech. Papyrusurkunden*, s. v. οἶκος (2).

⁸ Witkowski, *Epistulae privatae Graecae*, second edition, nos. 52, 63, and 71; P. Oxy. 293 and 294.

⁹ S. Müller, *Gr. Pap. aus d. Berl. Mus.* 11 (33-4 A. D.), H. Büttner, *Gr. Privatbriefe* 19 (55 A. D.), P. Columb. Inv. No. 318 (unpublished; probably late first century A. D.), P. Giss. 12 (Trajan or Hadrian), and P. Columb. Inv. No. 25A (unpublished; second century A. D.).

¹⁰ Witkowski, nos. 57, 63, and 64; P. Oxy. 787.

¹¹ Witkowski, nos. 53, 57, and 60; Wilcken, *Chrest.*, 12; P. Grenfell, I, 40.

This, then, is the extent of the evidence for the early date of the work. On the other side, even a cursory examination reveals elements which obviously belong to a later period. Among these may be mentioned the words *μερικῶς* (p. 1, 10), *συνανατροφῆς* (p. 3, 9), *βαρεῖν* (p. 4, 5), and *καταιτύσει* (p. 9, 7); the form *σεσήμαγκεν* (p. 8, 12); and the phrase *ἐκ πάλαι* (p. 11, 9).¹²

It seems necessary, then, in want of more definite evidence, to return to Brinkmann's first broad dating of the work in the period 200 B. C. to 300 A. D. The necessity for such a retreat, based upon the presence in the work of stylistic elements which are characteristic of the Ptolemaic period, and of others which must be as late as the second or third century A. D., brings us inevitably back to Brinkmann's remarks, at the beginning of his article, upon the question of the unity of the work.

The manuscripts¹³ belong to two families, M and β. Only three of the manuscripts of the β family contain the two letters at the end of the work which are obviously late additions, belonging to the period after 300 A. D. In general the two traditions differ greatly, β obviously representing a later form of the work, with a large number of revisions. It is Brinkmann's opinion, however, that the ms. M gives the work essentially in its original form. But in view of the great difference between the M and β forms of the work, and of the chaotic state of the text of the later guide to letter-writing assigned to Libanius or Proclus,¹⁴ it hardly seems likely, even apart from the stylistic evidence, that the form given by M is an entirely unrevised one. As a handbook for the practical use of letter-writers, the work would be especially likely to undergo more or less constant "improvement" at the hands of persons who wished to bring it into closer agreement with the fashion of their own times. Therefore, without wishing to raise a "Homeric Question" about this little manual, I am yet inclined to view it as something like a "traditional book." In its original form it must go back at least to 100 B. C., but it seems clear that it was subjected to a considerable amount of revision during the four hundred years following.

¹² Or *ἐκπαλαι*; see Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, under the latter.

¹³ See Weichert, *op. cit.*, pp. xxxvi-xli.

¹⁴ *Ἐπιστολμαῖοι Χαρακτῆρες*: see Weichert, pp. 13-66.

To judge from the extant papyrus letters, the influence of this particular manual upon letter writing in Egypt does not seem to have been very great. In regard to no one of the actual letters can we say with assurance, "Here the type letter was followed." The similarities of vocabulary and style pointed out by Brinkmann and others seem rather to indicate influence in the other direction—the inevitable influence of the current styles of letter writing upon such a handbook. The manual itself habitually uses stilted and artificial modes of expression, which would probably have seemed to the plain-speaking correspondents of the papyrus letters likely to throw suspicion upon their sincerity, if not to make them ridiculous. The difference in style is obvious to anyone who will compare, for example, the "friendly" letter of the *Τύποι*¹⁵ with almost any of the letters to relatives and friends preserved upon papyrus.¹⁶ Though formulae, not only at the beginning and end,¹⁷ but in the body also, are usual in the papyrus letters, their writers had little liking for such forms of expression as are found in the *Τύποι*.

One can conjecture that there were other manuals of letter writing which were more popular—perhaps a considerable number. We are told that in the earlier days of Egypt teachers supplied actual letters, and also specially composed letter forms, to serve as models for their pupils,¹⁸ and this custom was doubtless followed by Greek schoolmasters also. The professional letter writers would of course have their more or less fixed formulae. From these two closely related sources there would naturally develop manuals of letter writing and collections of form letters suited to the different purposes of correspondence. A detailed examination of all the Greek letters which conform in whole or in part to any of the definite types would be necessary in order to determine the extent to which fixed forms of expression were used in the bodies of such letters. In this article I shall examine the examples of only one type—the letter of introduction. This type has been selected because it is perhaps the

¹⁵ No. 1: p. 3, 6-12.

¹⁶ E. g., P. Cairo Zen. 59135.

¹⁷ For the opening and closing formulae see F. X. J. Exler, *The Form of the Ancient Greek Letter*, Diss., Washington, 1923.

¹⁸ A. Erman, *Die Literatur der Aegypter*, Leipzig, 1923, pp. 252, 260.

most distinctive in purpose and character of them all. The introducer habitually entrusted such a letter for delivery to the person introduced. It was thus less likely than other kinds of letters to contain extraneous matter, and, even where it does, the separation of the words of introduction from the other elements is easily made. Not all of the other so-called types are equally definite in character; several of those listed in the manual tend to shade into one another.

The extant Greek letters fall into two general divisions. The letters from actual life, most of which come to us from the papyri, must be distinguished from the literary epistles which are ascribed to the authorship of famous men. The latter have been conveniently collected in Hercher's *Epistolographi Graeci*. While the papyrus letters can be dated exactly or approximately, most of the literary letters cannot. I shall include in my study the published letters of both these classes, up to about 300 A. D., which are, in whole or in part, letters of introduction. It seems desirable to supply a list of these letters here, and to include translations of the words of introduction in most cases. In this list I give the letters from actual life in chronological order so far as possible, but leave the literary letters in the alphabetical order of the names of their supposed writers, as they are given by Hercher.

I. LETTERS FROM ACTUAL LIFE.

1. Witkowski, 11. *Ca.* 260 B. C.

... Asklepiades, who has delivered the letter to you, is ... (if) he has need of you for anything ...

2. Witkowski, 12. *Ca.* 260 B. C.

... (who has delivered the) letter (to you), was introduced to us by ... having need of writing to you ... (that) he may go to you; you will do me a favor by assisting him (in whatever) he comes to you for ...

3. P. Cairo Zen. 59002. 260 B. C. (Apollonios to Zeno; rather an order than a letter of introduction).

4. P. Cairo Zen. 59038. 257 B. C. (Amyntas to Zeno).

... and, as for the rest, you will do me a favor if you show him as much consideration as possible, until, upon a suitable occasion, we petition Apollonios in his interest.

5. P. Cairo Zen. 59042. 257 B. C. (Amyntas to Zeno).

Alexandros, who is delivering the letter to you, is a relative of one

of my friends, and I myself am well acquainted with him. He has now been designated (for a public service) by someone. You will do me a favor, therefore, if you will assist, if possible, in getting him released. For he is rather weak physically on account of an illness.

6. P. Cairo Zen. 59045. 257 B. C. (Amyntas to Zeno).

Zopyros, who is delivering the letter to you, is the son of Sosigenes the Kaunian. We have written to Apollonios about him at the request of certain persons. Kindly introduce him, therefore, whenever you learn that it suits Apollonios' convenience, so that he may present his request in regard to the matters for which he has undertaken his journey.

7. P. Cairo Zen. 59046. Probably 257 B. C. (Amyntas to Apollonios).

Menandros, who is with Heraklides, has asked us to write to you, in order that he may present to you, when convenient, his request in regard to the matters for which he has undertaken his journey to see you. Kindly give him your attention, therefore, at your convenience. For he is the sort of man who will consider your interests.

8. P. Cairo Zen. 59050. 257 B. C.

Kindly . . . Melanthos . . . and show consideration for him in other matters.

9. P. Cairo Zen. 59101. 257 B. C. (Melanippos to Zeno).

Demetrios, who is delivering the letter, has been sent (?) . . . to Apollonios the *dioecetes*. Kindly (assist him) therefore, in whatever matter he has need of you, and make it clear to him that we have written to you about him. For it is of advantage to us, with regard to the city and to the man himself, that he be attended to and return.

10. P. Cairo Zen. 59192. 255 B. C. (Plato to Zeno).

The father of Demetrios, who is delivering the letter to you, is at present, it appears, living in the Arsinoite Nome. The youth himself therefore wishes to be employed there too. As he has learned that you are a kindly man, some friends have asked me to write to you about him, so that you may give him a place with you. Kindly favor us, therefore, and arrange for him to have whatever employment you judge suitable, and look after him in other matters if he proves useful to you

11. P. Cairo Zen. 59284. 251 B. C. (Hierokles to Zeno).

(I mentioned) Hermogenes, one of the cleruchs, (to you previously in the) city, but I thought it necessary (to remind you again). Therefore when he delivers the letter to you, kindly (become better) acquainted (with him), and, if he needs anything from you, do it for him as far as (possible). For (he has been introduced) to us by certain friends with whom (he has been associated) for quite a long time

12. P. Cairo Zen. 59283. 250 B. C. (Hierokles to Zeno).

. . . , who is delivering the letter to you, is a relative of . . . wife . . . kindly make an effort

13. P. S. I. 5, 520. 250-49 B. C.

Stratagos, who is delivering the letter to you, being an acquaintance of ours, asked me to write to you. He said that he had a dispute with someone . . . and that it was necessary Kindly assist him. For he deserves consideration, and in addition he did useful service for Apollonios

14. P. Cairo Zen. 59342. 246 B. C. (Sisuchos to Zeno).

. . . I wrote previously about Ptolemaios (my son), requesting you to ask Hermaphilos and Python the banker and their associates to employ him as clerk. Now I have sent Ptolemaios himself to you. Therefore, if it meets with your approval, kindly write . . . to anyone you judge proper, so that he may be employed as clerk

15. Witkowski, 34. Third Century B. C. (?)

Moschos, who is delivering the letter to you, is the brother of Philo, who is with Lysis the letter-writer. See to it therefore that the man is not unjustly treated

16. P. Cairo Zen. 59392. Third Century B. C. (Apollonios to Apollodoros; rather an order than a letter of introduction).

17. P. Cairo Zen. 59590. Third Century B. C. (Diokles to Zeno).

Paris, who is delivering the note to you, . . . has returned from the Oxyrhynchite Nome Therefore be kind enough to write to Themistokles and Petosiris the royal secretary (requesting them) to write to Axapes

18. P. Edgar Mich. 82b (cf. no. 17 above). Third Century B. C. (Zeno to Themistokles).

Diokles, one of the cleruchs from Arsinoe, who has been a friend of mine for quite a long time, is concerned about a certain Egyptian of the Oxyrhynchite Nome named Paris. He claims that Axapes the royal secretary has enrolled this man in the soldiery, though he was previously

19. P. Cairo Zen. 59603. Third Century B. C.

Mnesitheos, who brings you the letter, . . . about the poet. Therefore you will do (us) a favor . . . if you collect as many as possible¹⁹

20. Witkowski, 51. *Ca.* 150 B. C.

In regard to what we want we have sent to you Glaukias, an intimate friend of ours, to consult with you. Therefore please give him an interview, and make clear to him the matters about which he has come

21. P. S. I. 8, 969. First Century B. C.

We have placed Archedemos, one of our friends, with Diokles in the office of supervision of all (affairs) of the nome. In whatever he needs from you assist him actively, so that we may suffer no loss.

¹⁹ Edgar interprets this as a letter introducing to Zeno a lecturer on Homer.

22. P. Oxy. 746. 16 A. D.

Hermophilos, who is delivering the letter to you is . . . of . . . erios, and he asked me to write to you. He claims to have a small matter of business in Kerkemunis. Therefore, if you please, assist him actively, as is just.

23. P. Oxy. 787. 16 A. D.

. . . since he is our friend. I request you therefore to consider him introduced (to you), and, in whatever matters he comes to you about, give him aid, as is just, for my sake.

24. P. Oxy. 292. *Ca.* 25 A. D.

Heraklides, who is delivering the letter to you, is my brother. Therefore I beg you as urgently as possible to consider him introduced (to you). I have also asked my brother Hermias to inform you about him by letter. You will do me the greatest possible favor if he wins your consideration.

25. Epistle to the Romans 16, 1-2.²⁰

I introduce to you Phoebe, our sister, who is a deaconess of the church at Kenchreai, that you may receive her in the Lord, in a way worthy of the holy ones, and may help her in whatever business she may have need of you; for indeed she has been a helper of many, and of myself also.

26. P. Giss. 71. Early Hadrian.

I request you to consider as introduced (to you) Achilles, who is delivering to you this letter of mine, and to assist him actively in whatever he needs from you, so that he may bear witness to your eagerness (in my behalf).

27. P. Giss. 88. Early Second Century.

I introduce to you, brother, my house-servant Apollonius, who is delivering the note to you, so that, in whatever matters she may need your help

28. P. Oxy. 1663. Second or Third Century.

. . . since I have an opportunity to send to you, I present to you Soter, brother, so that you may regard him as you do our young brother Serenus, since he is worthy of this privilege, not only on account of his good character, but also

29. P. Oxy. 1064. Third Century.

. . . Therefore I write to you, knowing your kindness, that you may assist Apis, who is collecting the revenues at Takona, and may grant him hospitality, so that when he returns he may bear witness (of it) to me.

²⁰ Romans XVI is considered by many scholars to be a separate letter sent to Ephesus (See A. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, London, 1927, pp. 234 ff.). If so, this note of introduction comes at the beginning of a letter, not toward the end.

30. P. Flor. 2, 173. 256 A. D.

Let my respected son, the most honorable Primus, have every assistance and supplies of wine . . . and everything else, so that he may bear witness (of it) to me; and let him receive hospitality and whatever else is proper.

II. LITERARY LETTERS.

31. Aeschines 6. Hercher, p. 37.

This man Ariston, who is carrying the letter to you, was the first to receive us at Rhodes. He has taken ship for Athens See to it therefore that you receive him kindly Help him also in other matters, so that he may learn that he has entertained a man who is not entirely lacking in friends

32. Apollonius Tyaneus 107. Hercher, p. 128. (King Phraotes to Iarchas, etc.)

Apollonios, a very wise man, considers you wiser than himself, and comes to learn your (wisdom). Impart to him all your knowledge before you dismiss him, with the assurance that none of your learning will be lost. For his speech and his memory surpass those of all other men. . . . Those who accompany him are also worthy of praise, since they have put themselves in charge of such a man.

33. Chion 2. Hercher, p. 194.

Thrason is trading in the Pontus, but he appears to me to be a better man than his occupation would lead one to expect. And now, in Byzantium, I owe him a debt of gratitude Now that he is voyaging to the place where you are, I thought it my duty to send with him this testimonial, that he may receive similar (good treatment) in return Without doubt you will gladly receive him in your house, according to your custom

34. Chion 8. Hercher, p. 199.

Archepolis of Lemnos, who is delivering the note to you, when setting out for the Pontus to trade, asked me to introduce him to you; and I agreed gladly. In fact he has never been one of my friends. Therefore I thought it a great gain to have the opportunity to make a man a friend who had not been one before. To this gain you will assist me if you receive him hospitably. Indeed I believe that he is a decent sort of trader; for he was a philosopher before he became a trader.

35. Diogenes 48. Hercher, p. 257.

Phrynichos of Larisa, a disciple of mine, wants to see horse-feeding Argos; as he is a philosopher, he will not ask much of you.

36. Dion 1. Hercher, p. 259.

I introduce to you the man who carries the letter; he is troubled by the contentiousness of an opponent at law, but does not wish to make trouble for his own friends. In other qualities also he is such a man as you would praise, being of a reasonable and modest temper. About his family and his position in the state I do not think you should inquire; but he can make a good showing on these points too.

37. Dion 2. Hercher, p. 259.

You already know my companion Herennius, but not so well as I want you to. I could not at present, perhaps, tell you of all his good qualities, but at least it is proper for me to state that he has been my friend for a long time, and during that time has given many proofs of his friendship You, who have done me many favors, would do me a very great favor if you would consider Herennius as your own (friend).

38. Plato 13.²¹ Hercher, p. 531.

. . . Iatrocles, who was set free by me along with Myronides, is now on the point of embarking with the persons sent by me. Therefore give him some kind of paid employment, since he is well disposed to you; and use him for whatever you wish.

39. Plato 14. Herscher, p. 531.

Georgios, to whom I have given the letter, is one of our friends, having been a fellow student of mine for a long time. In character, I believe, he is as modest as any man alive. Therefore we have shared our philosophical pursuits with him. Hence it has seemed good to me to introduce him to you—for I am well aware that you wish to know good men—and especially because he lives near you This introduction will bring you no trouble or regret. Make his acquaintance and show him consideration, on account both of his character and of his close friendship with me

40. Plato 15. Hercher, p. 532.

Kallimachos, on whose account I have written the letter, was one of our fellow students. A misfortune, of which I know you have heard, has happened to him He asks of us what is just and what a friend may properly ask—assistance. This assistance we cannot entrust to any other (than yourself); and indeed he believes and expressly states that, if you are willing, his rescue will be easy, and will bring with it neither offence nor enmity Therefore kindly give the man some assistance, both for our sake and for his, so that he may be released Do not neglect to take action and do not hand the matter over to anyone else, but attend to it yourself.

41. Socratici 25 (Plato). Hercher, p. 626.

Krinis, to whom I have given the letter, has long been your friend as well as mine. But since your acquaintance (with him) was originally due to us, I think it proper now, as if I were introducing him to you a second time, to urge you to assist him Since he is the kind of man he is, and our friend and yours, try to do your best for him; such men deserve kindness.

42. Socrates 2. Hercher, p. 611.

How much I favor Chairephon you are well aware. Since the city has chosen him ambassador to the Peloponnese, he may perhaps come to you. Hospitality is easily supplied to a philosopher; travel however

²¹ The passage quoted is the final paragraph of a long letter.

is dangerous, particularly now, on account of the confused conditions there. If you make provision in this matter you will save a friend and do me the greatest possible favor.

43. Socrates 3. Hercher, p. 612.

Mneson of Amphipolis was introduced to me in Potidaia. He is now going to Athens (to appeal) to the people, since he has been exiled by his own city If you help him you will do a kindness to a man who deserves it, and you will be acting in the interest of both cities

44. Socratici 30.²² Hercher, p. 629.

Antipatros, who is carrying this letter, comes originally from Magnesia, but he has long been engaged at Athens in writing a Greek history. He says that he is being unjustly treated by someone in Magnesia. Therefore listen to his story and help him as actively as you can. It is right for you to assist him for many reasons, and particularly because, when the speech sent to you by Isokrates was read in our company, he praised the argument, but criticized the fact that no mention was made of the benefits conferred on Greece by you Farewell; assist Antipatros and send him back to us quickly.

I add the letter of introduction in the manual:

[Demetrius Phalereus], *Τύποι Ἐπιστολικοί*, No. 2. Weichert, p. 3, 16-4, 4.

The introductory type (*συστατικός*), which we write to one person for the sake of another, inserting (words of) praise, and speaking of those previously unacquainted as if they were acquainted (or, making acquainted those previously unacquainted).²³ Such as the following:

X, who is conveying the letter to you, is a man who has been well tested by us, and who is loved on account of his trustworthiness. Kindly grant him hospitality both for my sake and for his, and indeed also for your own. For you will not be sorry if you entrust to him, in any matter you wish, either words or deeds of a confidential nature. Indeed you yourself will praise him to others when you have learned how useful he can be in everything.

For comparison I give also the definition and the first example from the later manual of about 400 A. D.

[Libanius-Proclus], *Ἐπιστολιμαῖοι Χαρακτῆρες*.

Weichert, p. 16, 2-3: The letter of introduction (*συστατική*), by which we introduce one person to another. It is also called letter of recommendation (*παραθετική*).

Weichert, p. 22, 12-14: Receive this most honored and much sought-

²² The parts quoted are the opening and closing passages of a long letter.

²³ The first translation represents the reading of M; the second, that of β.

after gentleman, and do not hesitate to grant him hospitality, thus doing what is appropriate to your own character and what is pleasing to me.

From the manuals it appears that the older and most usual name for the letter of introduction was *ἐπιστολὴ συστατική*, while an alternative and perhaps later name was *παραθετική*. The verb *συνίστημι* is used in literature from Xenophon through Plutarch in the sense of "introduce," and *παρατίθεμαι* is used later with a similar meaning. But it is to be noticed that, in their model letters, the manuals use neither word. The obvious assumption is that the writers of the manuals thought the use of an actual word meaning "I introduce" somewhat too bald, and preferred to avoid it. We might conjecture that, if we found these words employed at all in our collection of letters, they would be used in the actual letters of ordinary life, and not in the literary epistles. This is not however fully borne out in fact. Among the actual letters the only one which uses *συνίστημι* with dative and accusative is that of St. Paul.²⁴ In three cases²⁵ we find a periphrastic usage, *ἐρωτῶ* (or *παρακαλῶ*) *σε ἔχειν αὐτὸν συνεσταμένον*, and once²⁶ we find the verb used in an explanation, *συνεστάθη ἡμῖν ὑπό Παρατίθεμαί σοι* is used twice.²⁷ As both these cases are of the second or third century A. D., while the latest use of *συνίστημι* found comes in the early second century, they confirm the conclusion that *παρατίθεμαι* came in later—evidently during the second century—as a variant to *συνίστημι*. In the literary letters we find *συνίστημι* used four times,²⁸ and *σύστασις* twice.²⁹

The Greek letters of introduction frequently begin by mentioning the person introduced as "the deliverer of the letter." The pseudo-Demetrius manual uses for this purpose the expression *τὸν δεῖνα τὸν παρακομίζοντά σοι τὴν ἐπιστολήν*, while one of the Libanius-Proclus type letters³⁰ has a longer formula: *οὗτος ὁ τήνδε σοι τὴν μετρίαν μου κομίζων ἐπιστολήν*. *Παρακομίζω* is found nowhere else except in the model letter of the *Τύποι*, while *κομίζω* is not at all common in the letters. The verb most frequently

²⁴ No. 25 in the list given above.

²⁸ Nos. 34, 36, 39, and 43.

²⁵ Nos. 23, 24 and 26.

²⁹ Nos. 39 and 41.

²⁶ No. 2.

³⁰ Weichert, 58, 8 ff.

²⁷ Nos. 27 and 28.

used in the papyrus letters is ἀποδίδωμι; it occurs regularly in expressions like ὁ ἀποδιδούς (or ἀποδεδωκώς) σοι τὴν ἐπιστολήν. Φέρω³¹ and κομίζω³² are each used once in the Ptolemaic period, while in the second century A. D. we find two cases of ἀναδίδωμι.³³ As the latest use of ἀποδίδωμι is in 25 A. D.,³⁴ ἀναδίδωμι is perhaps a variant which took its place in the second century. In the literary letters φέρω is used twice,³⁵ and ἀποδίδωμι³⁶ and κομίζω³⁷ once each. Three of the Platonic letters give us a different formula: "to whom I have given the letter," or "on whose account I have written the letter."³⁸

Where these expressions are used, they are usually followed by ἔστι (variants: ὢν, τυγχάνει ὢν) and a brief statement of the identity of the person introduced, i. e., his relationship to or friendship with the writer.

In some cases the recipient of the letter is asked to do a definite favor for the person introduced, but in about half the letters where any favor is mentioned, it is of a quite general character. "Help him in whatever he needs from you" is a common request in the non-literary letters. This idea is expressed in various ways. We find in the Ptolemaic period three cases of the use of the word χρεῖαν³⁹ in expressions such as ἐάν τινά σου χρεῖαν ἔχῃ. In similar expressions σοῦ δέγεται⁴⁰ and σου προσδέγεται⁴¹ are also found; other phrases are περὶ ὧν ἀποδεδήμηκεν πρὸς σέ⁴² and ἐν οἷς ἐάν σοι προσέρχεται.⁴³

There is also a considerable amount of variation in the words used to describe the general assistance desired from the recipient of the letter. We find πολυωρέω,⁴⁴ ποιέω (twice),⁴⁵ συνεργέω⁴⁶ and σπουδάξω (twice)⁴⁷; also ἐχέτω πᾶσαν ὑπηρεσίαν.⁴⁸ We find also an assortment of expressions with the basic ideas "if you can," "as far as you are able," and "if you think it proper." Ἐάν σοι φαίνεται is used twice;⁴⁹ εἰ ἔστιν ἐν δυνατῷ⁵⁰ and μετὰ πάσης δυνάμεως⁵¹ are also found.

The literary letters stress the request that the person intro-

³¹ No. 16.³² No. 19.³³ Nos. 26 and 27.³⁴ No. 24.³⁵ Nos. 36 and 44.³⁶ No. 34.³⁷ No. 31.³⁸ Nos. 39, 40, and 41.³⁹ Nos. 1, 9, and 11.⁴⁰ Nos. 26 and 27.⁴¹ No. 21.⁴² No. 7.⁴³ No. 23.⁴⁴ No. 2.⁴⁵ Nos. 11 and 23.⁴⁶ No. 21.⁴⁷ Nos. 22 and 26.⁴⁸ No. 30.⁴⁹ Nos. 14 and 22.⁵⁰ No. 5.⁵¹ No. 24.

duced be received as a guest; compounds of *δέχομαι* are found several times. St. Paul's letter,⁵² too, uses *προσδέχομαι*, and *δέχομαι* and its compounds are customarily used in the later Christian letters. In four cases, three of which occur in letters ascribed to Plato, general help is requested by the use of the word *ἐπιμελέομαι*.⁵³ In one case the idea "to the extent of your ability" is expressed by the words *ὡς ἂν δύνῃ προθυμότερα*.⁵⁴

Another element in these letters is the statement of reasons why the recipient should do the favors requested. In most cases no definite reason is given except the close relations of the bearer of the letter to the writer, or the virtues and deserts of the person introduced. Sometimes, however, it is stated or hinted that the bearer will repay the recipient of the letter by being useful to him. This element is clear in the sample letter of the *Τύποι*. In three letters, one of the second century, and two of the third century A. D., the reason given is, "so that he may bear witness of it to me"; *ἀνθομολογέομαι* is used once,⁵⁵ and *μαρτυρέω* twice.⁵⁶

In the literary letters there is a considerable amount of variation. The reasons alleged are: "because he has done favors for me,"⁵⁷ "because you wish to know good men,"⁵⁸ "you will help both cities,"⁵⁹ and "because he praised you."⁶⁰

Expressions with the general meaning "you will do me a favor" (by helping the person introduced) are rather common in the papyrus letters. The word *χαρίζω* is used in five letters⁶¹ in this connection; *χαριστέω*⁶² and *εὐχαριστέω*⁶³ are each used once. A similar expression, with the use of *χαρίζω*, is found in one of the literary letters.⁶⁴

Twice in the papyrus letters, and once in the literary letters, the recipient is asked to do what is requested "for my sake" (*δι' ἡμᾶς*,⁶⁵ *εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν καταλογὴν*,⁶⁶ *ἡμῶν ἕνεκα*⁶⁷). A similar expression is used in the pseudo-Demetrius type letter (*δι' ἐμέ*).

Certain elements occasionally appear in the letters which might tend to weaken the force of the recommendation. Among

⁵² No. 25.⁵³ Nos. 39, 40, 41, and 44.⁵⁴ No. 44.⁵⁵ No. 26.⁵⁶ Nos. 29 and 30.⁵⁷ No. 33.⁵⁸ No. 39.⁵⁹ No. 43.⁶⁰ No. 44.⁶¹ Nos. 4, 5, 19, 20, and 24.⁶² No. 10.⁶³ No. 2.⁶⁴ No. 37.⁶⁵ No. 2.⁶⁶ No. 23.⁶⁷ No. 40.

educated people a letter which confined itself almost entirely to the use of formulae would seem likely, by its lack of spontaneity, to have this effect. One type of expression which would certainly weaken the recommendation is the statement that the sender 'was asked to write the letter,' either by the person introduced or by someone else. Such statements occur four times in the papyrus letters, ἀξιόω being used three times in the early Ptolemaic period,⁶⁸ and ἐρωτάω once in 16 A. D.⁶⁹

We may conclude that, while the letters of introduction do not slavishly adhere to any single formula, there is abundant evidence that traditional formulae, different from those found in the Τύποι, did exist, and were generally used. As might be expected, a closer adherence to conventional modes of expression is found in the letters of ordinary life than in those attributed to famous men. These formulae were probably contained in handbooks of letter writing which are now lost.

The substitution of παρατίθεμαι for συνίστημι and of ἀναδίδωμι for ἀποδίδωμι, and also the appearance of the expressions with ἀνθομολογέομαι and μαρτυρέω in the second and third centuries, hint of the occurrence of changes in the popular formulae about 100-150 A. D., which may have been caused by the spreading popularity of a new manual.

An investigation of this character can hardly be brought to a close without some comparison of the Greek formulae with those found in Latin letters. Here Pliny, the main representative of the literary epistle, made little or no use of formulae, and Cicero must be our chief source of material. He has left us a very large number of letters of introduction, especially in Book XIII of the *Epistulae ad Familiares*, which is devoted almost entirely to that type. No detailed examination of these letters is contemplated here; I shall confine myself to a brief consideration of the relation between Cicero's formulae and those of the Greek letters of introduction.

Cicero is clearly conscious of the distinction between letters of introduction and all other kinds of letters; he uses the name *litterae commendaticiae*⁷⁰ for the type. He employs a large number of conventional expressions,⁷¹ particularly in those brief,

⁶⁸ Nos. 6, 10, and 13.

⁶⁹ No. 22.

⁷⁰ Ad Fam. 5, 5, § 1, etc.

⁷¹ Cf. L. Gurlitt, *Philologus*, Suppl.-Band 4 (1884), pp. 593-5.

formal letters in which he is introducing persons known to him slightly or not at all. A good example is *Ad Fam.* XIII, 6b:

P. Cornelius, qui tibi litteras⁷² dedit, est mihi a P. Cuspio commendatus, cuius causa quanto opere cuperem deberemque profecto ex me facile cognosti. Vehementer te rogo ut cures ut ex hac commendatione mihi Cuspius quam maximas quam primum quam saepissime gratias agat.

The first part of this letter can be translated literally into the common Greek formula: ὁ δεῖνα ὁ ἀποδεδωκώς σοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν συνεστάθη μοι ὑπὸ τοῦ δέινος. And the request at the end corresponds closely to the Greek expression mentioned above: πρὸς τὸ . . . αὐτὸν μαρτυρῆσαί μοι. There is a striking similarity, therefore, between some of Cicero's formulae and those of the Greek letters. The full list of close correspondences which I have noticed is as follows:

ὁ ἀποδιδούς (ἀποδεδωκώς) σοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν (*passim*, 257 B. C.-25 A. D.).
Qui tibi litteras dedit (*Ad Fam.* 13, 6b).

συνίστημι (παρατίθεμαι) σοι (See notes 24, 27, and 28 above).
Commendo tibi (*passim*).

ἔχειν αὐτὸν συνεσταμένον (Note 25).

Habeas tibi commendatissimos (*Ad Fam.* 13, 64; cf. 12, 26).

συνεστάθη ἡμῖν ὑπὸ . . . (Note 26).

Est mihi a . . . commendatus (*Ad Fam.* 13, 6b).

δι' ἡμᾶς, εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν καταλογὴν, δι' ἐμέ (Notes 65 and 66).

Mea causa (*Ad Fam.* 13, 78). Honoris mei causa (*Ad Fam.* 13, 31; cf. 37).

πρὸς τὸ ἐπανελθόντα αὐτὸν μαρτυρῆσαί μοι (Note 56).

Ut merito tuo mihi gratias agere possit (*Ad Brut.* 1, 8; similar expressions *passim*).

καὶ φανερὸν αὐτῷ ποιήσας ὅτι γεγράφαμέν σοι περὶ αὐτοῦ (Number 9 above).

Peto ut operam des ut intelligat diligenter me scripsisse de se (*Ad Fam.* 13, 20; cf. 45, etc.).

χαριεῖ μοι ὡς ἐνδέχεται μάλιστα (Note 61).

Mihi certe gratissimum feceris (*Ad Fam.* 13, 2; similar expressions *passim*).

ἠξίωσεν γράψαι πρὸς σε (Note 68).

Meque rogavit ut se et causam suam tibi commendarem (*Ad Fam.* 7, 21; cf. 13, 10; 3, 1, § 3).

εἰ ἔστιν ἐν δυνατῷ (Note 50).

Quibuscumque rebus . . . poteris (*Ad Fam.* 13, 92, etc.).

⁷² Orelli emends by inserting *has* after *litteras*; wrongly, if Cicero is following the Greek formula closely.

Some of these correspondences between Greek and Latin formulae may be merely coincidences, but their cumulative weight is considerable. The similarity between the expressions ἔχειν αὐτὸν συνεσταμένον and *habeas tibi commendatissimos* is particularly striking. It seems quite clear that Cicero knew and adapted some Greek formulae for letters of introduction, and very probable that he possessed and used one or more Greek handbooks of letter writing. Cicero's forms of expression naturally became models for later writers of letters of introduction in Latin; the Latin letter of the second century from Egypt⁷³ and the small number of letters of introduction included in the writings of Fronto, show clear reminiscences of the Ciceronian style.

It may be useful to conclude an article of this rather miscellaneous character with a brief summary of the conclusions reached:

(1) Our earliest manual of letter-writing is not now in its original Ptolemaic form, but was probably revised from time to time during the Roman period.

(2) This manual had little influence upon Greek letter writing in Egypt.

(3) The frequent recurrence of conventional forms of expression in Greek letters of introduction makes it probable that other manuals of a more popular character existed. The displacement of a number of the older forms by new ones about 100-150 A. D. is indicated.

(4) Cicero used some conventional Greek forms in his letters of introduction; probably he was acquainted with Greek handbooks of letter writing.

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⁷³ P. Oxy. 32.

PARODY IN CATULLUS LVIIIa.

Non custos si fingar ille Cretum,
 Non si Pegaseo ferar volatu,
 Non Ladas ego pinnipesve Perseus,
 Non Rhesi niveae citaeque bigae:
 5 Adde huc plumipedas volatilesque,
 Ventorumque simul require cursum,
 Quos *cunctos*, Cameri, mihi dicares:
 Defessus tamen omnibus medullis
 Et multis languoribus peresus
 10 Essem te mihi, amice, quaeritando.

Not many of Catullus' short poems have been the objects of such labored attention as LVIIIa, especially with reference to its relations with LV *Oramus, si forte non molestum est*, its Phalaecean metre which in ll. 1 and 9 shows a spondee in the second foot (as does LV proportionally much more often, but no other poem of Catullus), its anaphora of *non*, and its Alexandrianism of learned allusion wherein it is compared to VII 3-6, XI 1-12, and XXXVI 11-16. Adjectives sometimes applied to it include "pathetic"¹ and "parodic";² it is to the latter of these that I would particularly draw attention in trying to show that Catullus was consciously parodying the high-flying manner of the self-conscious *vates*.

The experience of hunting an elusive friend through all the dives of a large city is not raw material for great poetry. This particular search, in fact, was punctuated by dialogues with the sisterhood and, from one of the ladies, by a rejoinder so unseemly as to merit perpetuation. For Catullus to train his batteries of classical scholarship upon such an incident was a caricature of that scholarship for very incongruity, and in building Hellenic landscape and mythological prosopographia around a ribald setting Catullus inevitably satirized them. Not merely the setting itself, but also the exaggeration of its elements, shows a compelling mock-heroic appreciation,—an appreciation which appears too in the quadruple *non* which, besides its repetition, has inherent in its position a rhetorical³ quality in exaggerated reminiscence of LXIV 19-21, 39-41, etc.

¹ E. g. by Friedrich, *Kommentar* (1908).

² Kroll, *Catull* (1923).

³ F. Rossfeld, *Die Stellung der Negation non bei Catull* (Program, Hörter a. d. Weser, 1898), and Kroll, *ad loc.* The latter's notes are useful *passim*.

Even without proceeding further, then, there is some reason for supposing that Catullus was indulging in an intentional *jeu d'esprit*, but it will be possible to carry the point still farther by a brief analysis of the vocabulary of LVIIIa. There is a decided similarity between the words used in ll. 1-7 and those used in the *epithalamia* (LXI, LXII), *Attis* (LXIII), *epyllion* (LXIV), *Coma Berenices* (LXVI), and parts of the poem to Allius (LXVIII), wherein Catullus was playing the self-conscious rôle of poet in a very special sense not perceived in his shorter poems.

(1) *Fingo* occurs only in LXII 36 at *lubet innuptis ficto te carpere questu* (where *innuptis* also smacks of an elevated diction) and perhaps LXVI 50 *quaerere venas . . . ac ferri fingere*⁴ *duritiem*.

(2) *Niveae* occurs with the meaning of "white" six times in these long poems,⁵ but nowhere else in Catullus with the exception of this passage.

(3) If one chooses to accept Schrader's *cunctos* (l. 7) for the *iunctos*, *victos* and *vinctos* of the mss. and editors, the other five (or six) Catullian instances are all found in the long poems.⁶ It is interesting to note with J. Süß that the conjectured word is "entirely absent from Terence and, aside from the neuter *cuncta*, exists in Plautus only in pathetic style imitating or parodying tragedy."⁷

(4) The use of *citae* is also suggestive; the word occurs elsewhere in Catullus three (or perhaps four) times,⁸ and its kinsman *cito* five times,⁹ but only in the long poems.¹⁰

⁴ *Fingere* O, Riese, Merrill; *ferris fringere* G, R; *stringere* edd.

⁵ LXI 9 *pede*; LXIII 8 *manibus*; LXIV 303 *sedibus*, 309 *vertice* or *vittae*, 364 *artus*; LXVIII 125 *columbo*.

⁶ LXIII 82 *loca*; LXIV 92 *corpore*, 142 *promissa*, 208 neuter substantive; LXVI 9 masculine substantive, but many editors read *multis*, 33 *divis*.

⁷ *Catulliana* (diss. Erlangen, 1876), p. 25. He objects to *cunctos* in this passage because of its contexts in Catullus and Plautus, but actually these contexts are its best support in LVIIIa. It is accepted by Haupt-Vahlen and Müller.

⁸ LXIII 30, 42, 74 (where some authorities read *celer*) and LXIV 6.

⁹ LXI 42 *citarier*; LXIII 2 *citato*, 8 *citata*, 18 and 26 *citatis*.

¹⁰ Attention should also be drawn to *dicares*, which perhaps occurs in LXIV 227 (questioned by Lachmann). Its relation to the present argument is not decisive. Although used in prose, in general it seems

(5) Turning now to word-coinages, Bährens¹¹ gives more than twenty in the longer poems¹² as against three from the shorter,¹³ aside from the *pinnipes* and *plumipedas* of LVIIIa. New words are statistically quite characteristic of the formal poems, and the introduction of two such words into such a short passage is a device suggestive of close technical imitation, i. e., burlesque. The lists of both Bährens and Ellis omit *tardipes* (XXXVI 7), a fabrication which of itself suggests that its context was conceived in the same genius. I have already expressed my views on this latter poem¹⁴ and shall here only add with Riese¹⁵ that its five-line barrage of mythology presents another device strikingly parallel to LVIIIa. *Sed haec prius fuere*; the earlier poem was written in the heyday of love. The latter poem parallels it but was hardly influenced by it.

(6) Direct influence, however, is traceable upon *custos ille Cretum* (= Talos) from the passages collected by Kroll on LXIV 290 *non sine . . . lenta sorore flammati Phaethontis* (= *populo*).¹⁶ The learned Alexandrian periphrase, characteristic of the long poems and especially of LXIV, appears also in the line which announces the tone of LVIIIa.

(7) What has been said is thrown into higher relief by a noticeable turn of feeling at l. 8. Characteristic of this is *medullis*, a word divided equally between the long and short poems.¹⁷ It was suitable for use in formal poetry¹⁸ without being too florid for the simple style. *Defessus* ("tired") is likewise not in flamboyant mood, occurring elsewhere only in

to be a poetic word in comparison with its more matter-of-fact synonyms *dedicare* and *consecrare* which are, however, favored by Horace, Tibullus, and Ovid. Cf. *Thes. L. L.*, where Gudeman confesses himself puzzled by our passage.

¹¹ *Commentary*, p. 48, cited by K. P. Schulze in Bursian's *Jahresbericht*, CXXVIII (1920), p. 48.

¹² One each in LXI, LXII and LXVI; five in LXIII; nine in LXIV; three in LXVIII.

¹³ *Buxifer* (IV), *sagittifer* (XI), *aurifer* (XXIX). He might have added, with Ellis (*Commentary*, p. xxxii), *lasarpicifer* (VII).

¹⁴ *Class. Philol.*, XXIV (1929), pp. 176 ff.

¹⁵ Ed. 1884.

¹⁶ Viz. LXIII 41; LXIV 324, 346, 367; LXVI 44.

¹⁷ XXXV 15; XLV 16; the present instance; LXIV 93, 196; LXVI 23; LXVIII 111; C 7.

¹⁸ E. g., *Aen.* IV 66.

L 14, while the more poetic *fessus* ("wearied") is reserved for LXIV 189, 366 (as well as XXXI 9). The pluralized *languoribus* is also a trifle more colloquial than some of the usages in the singular imply.¹⁹

Inevitably, I think, we must believe that in the first part of LVIIIa, and in XXXVI too, Catullus overlaid the sublime in style, or rather its Alexandrian polite imitation, upon the ridiculous in matter;²⁰ that is, he was parodying sublimity with special reference to the formal poetic technique which he and others practised in translating and adapting Hellenistic models, and as regards choice of words, parodying especially his own earlier poems LXIII and LXIV.²¹

Renewed attention has recently been given to echoes of Lucretius in Catullus LXIV 51-264,²² and it would be interesting to add that Catullus was parodying not so much himself as his great contemporary. However, this was not the case. Peculiarities of the Ariadne episode are not singled out for reproduction in LVIIIa. The parody was of Alexandrianism, not Epicureanism,—of Pegasus, not *principia*.

As they now stand separated in the mss., the differences between LVIIIa and LV are accentuated by their similarities. The latter are their date, their subject, their experimental metre and the inclusion of the two series LV 2-7 and LVIIIa 1-4. But contrast the character of these series; the latter is pure classicism while the former is as modern as the *Via dell' Impero*. To recall the vocabulary, we need only note *femellas* and *lacteolae*, two examples of many colloquial words and expressions in LV. Again, we find love treated after the manner of comedy (or farce) in one case, but passed over after the manner of

¹⁹ LXIII 37 *piger his labante languore oculos sopor operit*, a line of conscious effect; other words from the same root appear in LXIV 99, 188, 219, 331, and in obscene contexts in XXV 3 and LXVII 21.

²⁰ Ellis suggests that in XXXVI "the long enumeration of places connected with the worship of Venus was probably suggested by Sappho or Aleman" (with references); this may be true, but is it not the soul of burlesque to associate Sappho or Aleman with *Annales Volusi, cacata charta*?

²¹ LVIIIa and LV were among the poet's last compositions, in or after 55 B. C.

²² Frank, *Class. Philol.*, XXVIII (1933), pp. 249-256, following Munro on *de Rer. Nat.* III 57, and others.

tragedy in the other. Indeed, there is not a trace of high style unless one be inclined to accept Ellis's otherwise plausible suggestion in l. 11 *quaedam inquit nudum reducta pectus*; this construction is paralleled only in LXIV,²³ and if genuine would lend a touch of Parnassus to otherwise mundane surroundings. But this is conjecture; we are on sure ground in saying either that these poems are companion pieces like *Il Penseroso* and *L'Allegro* or that if one of them actually fits into the other, fortune has separated two parts that are in strikingly consistent contrast; LVIIIa 1-7 shows such stylistic similarities to some of the long poems that direct influence upon it from this source must be admitted.

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²³ Vv. 64 *pectus*, 65 *papillas*, 122 *lumina*, 207 *mentem*, 296 *membra*; cf. Overholthaus, *Syntaxis Catullianae capita duo* (diss. Göttingen, 1875), p. 25.

ON PLATO, *RESP.* 618 C.

[The interpretation of *τίς* as a teacher of virtue is not in harmony with the other utterances of the Platonic Socrates, and no one has satisfactorily justified this interpretation. It is suggested that *τίς* refers to *μάθησις*, implied in *μάθημα*.]

καὶ διὰ ταῦτα μάλιστα ἐπιμελητέον, ὅπως ἕκαστος ἡμῶν τῶν ἄλλων μαθημάτων ἀμελήσας τούτου τοῦ μαθήματος καὶ ζητητῆς καὶ μαθητῆς ἔσται, εἴαν ποθεν οἷός τ' ἢ μαθεῖν καὶ ἐξευρεῖν, τίς αὐτὸν ποιήσει δυνατόν καὶ ἐπιστήμονα, κτλ.

The usual interpretation of *τίς* as a person, a teacher, introduces a jarring note into this appeal for the cultivation of virtue based on reason. The Platonic Socrates has never been able to discover a teacher of virtue (*Meno* 89 E, cf. *Alcib.* I, 109 D, *Prot.* 320 B); whenever he seems to admit that such a teacher may be found, e. g., *Lach.* 201 A, he is speaking ironically. Therefore to interpret *τίς* as a teacher is to see the Socratic irony in one of the most serious passages of the *Republic*.

Jowett and Campbell, the only editors, so far as I know, who attempt to justify the shift from *μάθημα* to *τίς*, comment as follows: "*τίς αὐτόν* depends immediately on *ἐξευρεῖν*. The idea of seeking out the truth is developed into that of finding the true teacher, which has been suggested by the word *μαθητῆς*." This explanation disregards two common Platonic usages. In the first place, Plato often uses the phrase *μαθεῖν καὶ ἐξευρεῖν*, or the like, as a 'polar expression' to indicate the only certain ways of acquiring knowledge, by being told or by discovering for oneself:

Euthyd. 285 A, εἴτε αὐτὸ εὐρήκατον εἴτε καὶ παρ' ἄλλου του ἐμαθέτην.

Lach. 186 C, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν σοφισταῖς οὐκ ἔχω τελεῖν μισθούς . . . αὐτὸς δ' αὖ εὐρεῖν τὴν τέχνην ἀδυνατῶ ἔτι νυνί. εἰ δὲ Νικίας ἢ Λάχης εὐρηκεν ἢ μεμάθηκεν, οὐκ ἂν θαυμάσαιμι· καὶ γὰρ χρήμασιν ἐμοῦ δυνατότεροι, ὥστε μαθεῖν παρ' ἄλλων, καὶ ἅμα πρεσβύτεροι, ὥστε ἤδη εὐρηκέναι.

Phaed. 85 C (cited by Stallbaum on *Crat.* 438 A), δεῖν γὰρ περὶ αὐτὰ ἔν γέ τι τούτων διαπράξασθαι, ἢ μαθεῖν ὅπῃ ἔχει ἢ εὐρεῖν, also *Crat.* 438 A, *Alcib.* I, 106 D, 112 D (cited by Stallbaum), *Prot.* 320 B, *Meno* 81 D, cf. *Hipp. Min.* 372 C, *Theaet.* 144 B, *Resp.* 411 D, *Tim.* 88 A, *Alcib.* I, 114 A. These passages offer

strong evidence that *τίς αὐτόν* depends on both *μαθεῖν* and *ἐξευρεῖν*, and not, as Jowett and Campbell think, on the latter verb only.

A second Platonic usage makes it highly improbable that the idea of the true teacher has been suggested by *μαθητής*. Plato is fond of using a noun in *-της* with the copula or *γίγνεσθαι* as the equivalent of the verb from which the noun is formed, e. g., *Laws* 711 A, οὐδὲ τεθέασθε . . . Οὐδέ γε ἐπιθυμητῆς ἔγωγ' εἰμὶ (= ἐπιθυμῶ) τοῦ θεάματος, also 643 E, 697 A, *Resp.* 475 B, 548 A, *Meno* 77 B, *Euthyphr.* 14 D; *Laws* 722 E, οὐτ' εἰπέ τι προοίμιον οὔτε συνθέτης γενόμενος (= συνθεῖς) ἐξήνεγκεν εἰς τὸ φῶς. Two passages are particularly significant: *Laws* 968 D, ἃ δὲ μανθάνειν οὔτε εἰρεῖν ῥάδιον οὔτε εὐρηκότος ἄλλον μαθητὴν γενέσθαι (= μαθεῖν), "It is difficult to discover the proper studies, either by investigating for oneself or by asking an expert." In the *Laches*, after the passage quoted above, there is an expression closely parallel to the one in question: 186 E, Σωκράτης οὐ φησιν ἐπαίνειν περὶ τοῦ πράγματος . . . οὔτε γὰρ εἰρετῆς οὔτε μαθητῆς οὐδενὸς (neuter) περὶ τῶν τοιούτων γεγονέναι . . . 187 A, εἰ δ' αὐτοὶ εὑρεταὶ γεγονότε τοῦ τοιούτου. The whole passage, 186 C-187 A, with its five-fold repetition, each time with chiasmus, of the 'polar expression' for the acquisition of knowledge is so similar in both language and arrangement that we must, I think, regard καὶ ζητητῆς καὶ μαθητῆς ἔσται as the equivalent of the durative future of ζητεῖν καὶ μανθάνειν in the sense of 'seek for oneself' and 'ask others.' Both the 'polar expression' and its chiasmic repetition increase the emphatic earnestness of the language, which is seen also in ὁ πᾶς κίνδυνος (618 B), μάλιστα, τῶν ἄλλων, ποθέν.

It may be objected in favor of the interpretation of Jowett and Campbell that if *μαθεῖν καὶ ἐξευρεῖν* were a mere chiasmic repetition of καὶ ζητητῆς καὶ μαθητῆς (ἔσται), we should also find the connective doubled, τε . . . καί, or καὶ . . . καί. This doubling, however, is not always found in chiasmus, e. g., *Prot.* 322 C, αἰδῶ τε καὶ δίκην . . . δίκην καὶ αἰδῶ, also 351 E, *Gorg.* 451 C; *Gorg.* 507 B, οὔτε διώκειν οὔτε φεύγειν . . . φεύγειν καὶ διώκειν; *Prot.* 325 A, καὶ διδάσκειν καὶ κολάζειν . . . κολαζόμενος καὶ διδασκόμενος. Platonic usage, therefore, requires us to take *μαθεῖν* and *ἐξευρεῖν* together, and to expect μάθημα as their object. The sudden shift to the teacher remains unexplained. It is inconsistent not only with the Platonic Socrates, but also with Plato himself. There is a passage of similar import in the *Laws*

(770 C), where the Athenian Stranger in a hypothetical address to the Nomophylakes points out the aim of all legislation. This is excellence of soul in the individual; towards this the individual must strain every nerve (cf. *μάλιστα ἐπιμελητέον* in our passage) and must allow nothing to stand in the way (cf. *τῶν ἄλλων . . . ἀμελήσας*). Excellence of soul comes *ἐκ τινος ἐπιτηδεύματος ἢ τινος ἡθους ἢ ποιᾶς κτήσεως ἢ ἐπιθυμίας ἢ δόξης ἢ μαθημάτων ποτέ τινων*—there is no mention of a teacher. The same ideas are found at the end of Book IX of the *Republic* (591 C), another intensely serious and earnest passage, and again there is no reference to a teacher: *ὁ γε νοῦν ἔχων πάντα τὰ αὐτοῦ εἰς τοῦτο συντένας* (as *Laws* 770 C, just cited) *βιώσεται, πρῶτον μὲν τὰ μαθήματα τιμῶν, ἃ τοιαύτην αὐτοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπεργάσεται, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἀτιμάζων* (as *Resp.* 618 C). These passages support the objection to *τίς* = 'teacher' only *e silentio*. More positive evidence is perhaps *Phaed.* 78 A: Cebes asks, "where shall we find a man to charm away our fear of death, since you are deserting us?" Socrates replies, "There are many good men in Greece, not to mention foreign lands. You must search everywhere, sparing neither money nor pains, *ζητεῖν δὲ χρὴ καὶ αὐτοὺς μετ' ἀλλήλων· ἴσως γὰρ ἂν οὐδὲ ῥαδίως εὔροιτε μᾶλλον ὑμῶν δυναμένους τοῦτο ποιεῖν*." The tone of the passage is somewhat playful, but its burden (*pace* Burnet) is one of the greatest contributions which Socrates made to education and ethics, that, in all that pertains to the soul, *αὐτὸν εὐρεῖν ζητοῦντα* is superior to *παρ' ἄλλον μαθεῖν*. This is what we must find, if possible, in the passage under discussion.

Ficinus was evidently of the same opinion, for he translates, "disciplinam . . . per quam et possit et sciat." Ast suggested *ὁ τι* for *τίς*, but the MSS. all have *τίς*. It has occurred to me that there may be another way to avoid understanding *τίς* to refer to a teacher. In classical Greek are found many passages in which a pronoun differs in gender from the noun to which it refers, because the writer was thinking of a different substantive, nearly synonymous (Kühner-Gerth, I, p. 57, Anm. 3), e. g., Soph., *Phil.* 755, *τοῦ νοσήματος*; 757, *αὕτη* (sc. *ἡ νόσος*). In Plato there is at least one certain example of this change of gender, *Phileb.* 32 A, *τῆς ὑγρότητος . . . ἀπόντων καὶ διακρινόμενων* (sc. *τούτων*, i. e., *τῶν ὑδάτων*). So in the passage under discussion *τίς* may refer to the idea which is contained in *μαθήματος*, which is now presented not as a branch of study, but

as *μάθησις*, the process of acquiring ability and knowledge. This distinction between the subjective *μάθησις* and the objective *μάθημα* is made at *Resp.* 525 A and D, where the process by which a man comes to understand 'one,' *ἡ περὶ τὸ ἐν μάθησις*, is later described as the science, *μάθημα*, of calculation. This use of *τίς* would be an instance of Professor Shorey's "Illogical Idiom" (*Trans. Amer. Philol. Assn.*, 47 (1916) 205-234, especially 211, 213 f.). But I think we must accept it, or a more illogical error, that of picturing Socrates as inconsistent with himself, either in tone or in conviction.

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NOTE ON SOPHOCLES, *O. T.* 676-677.

ΟΙ. οὐκ οὖν μ' ἑάσεις κακτὸς εἶ; KP. πορεύσομαι,
 σοῦ μὲν τυχὼν ἀγνώτος, ἐν δὲ τοῖσδ' ἴσος.

The ordinary interpretation of line 677 assumes that there is an antithesis between the unwisdom of Creon and the better judgment of the chorus. Jebb translates: "I have found thee undiscerning, but in the sight of these I am just." The difficulty of this interpretation of *ἴσος* has led Denniston (*C. R.*, XLVII [1933], 164 f.) to propose the emendation *ἐν δὲ τοῖσδε σός*. There is a better way, I believe, of avoiding the difficulty. The natural meaning of *ἐν τοῖσδε ἴσος* is "among these their equal." I suggest that the antithesis between *σοῦ* and *τοῖσδε* is that between the special privilege of a kinsman of the king and the undistinguished lot of one among many subjects. There will thus be an antithesis also between *ἀγνώτος* and *ἴσος*, for the king's familiar and acquaintance is also his equal. Creon has already mentioned his good fortune in enjoying equality with Oedipus and Jocasta: *ἰσοῦμαι σφῶν* (l. 581). He has also made a plea for equal consideration of his interest with that of Oedipus: *ἀλλ' ἐξ ἴσου δέϊ κάμὸν* (l. 627). Once this plea is denied, he sinks to the level of a subject. It is not easy to pack all the meaning of this sentence into the same amount of English. I suggest: "I'll go, finding thee now but strange, myself an equal but of these."

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SOME GREEK EXAMPLES OF WORD-CONTAMINATION.

Although many of the words designated as of obscure etymology, even in the languages which have been studied most, will doubtless remain obscure—borrowing from unknown sources and semantic developments which appear too fantastic to gain credence even when suggested are two main causes for such obscurity—yet there is one point of attack which has not been exploited sufficiently¹ and which therefore gives promise of revealing the origin of a fairly large number even of Greek and Latin words. This is the contamination or blending of different words which are somehow or other closely associated in the mind.

This contamination may affect any part of the word. When it affects the end it concerns word-formation rather than etymology, for it means the exchange of word-endings and consequent substitution and addition of suffixes,² a process often hard to distinguish from intentional formation of a new word. Thus when Gr. (Aeol.) $\psi\alpha\phi\text{-}\tau\acute{\iota}\xi$ 'pebble' is explained as patterned after the older synonym $\lambda\alpha\gamma\acute{\iota}\xi$, it is really a case of word-contamination (if not an intentional formation), and the same when $\mu\acute{\iota}\kappa\rho\acute{\varsigma}$ 'small' (: OHG *smāhi*) is stated to have received its *-po-* from the contrasting $\mu\alpha\kappa\rho\acute{\varsigma}$ 'long' = Lat. *macer* OHG *magar* 'lean'. Nevertheless the name 'contamination' is not usually applied to this well-recognized process, but is reserved for instances in which some part of the root is affected.

If this contamination affects the end of the root, it results in different so-called root-determinatives, as was shown by Bloomfield, IF 4. 66 ff. If the contamination affects only the beginning of a word and the old and new forms co-exist, the result is a set of rhyme-words, of which a collection was made by H. Güntert, *Über Reimwortbildungen im Arischen und Altgriechischen*. The importance of these can be seen by the following example from the work here cited. Güntert (p. 119) explains $\psi\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\theta\omicron\varsigma$ 'sand'

¹ This is particularly true of the Classical languages in contrast to a more extended use of contamination in the etymological study of modern languages.

² It is the opinion of the writer that the IE system of suffixes on the whole owes its first origin to word-contamination. Cf. *AJPh.* 37. 173 ff., 255 ff.

as having received its ψ - from the synonym $\psi\acute{\alpha}\mu\mu\omicron\varsigma$,³ while its rhyme-word $\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\theta\omicron\varsigma$ 'sand' is shown to be old by the cognates OHG *sant*, etc. In turn $\psi\acute{\alpha}\mu\mu\omicron\varsigma$ then became $\acute{\alpha}\mu\mu\omicron\varsigma$ after the pattern $\psi\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\theta\omicron\varsigma$ beside $\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\theta\omicron\varsigma$.

Not all cases of contamination in the earlier part of the word result in rhyme-words. The conditions may be so complex that more than two words are involved, or the contamination may affect only a single sound or so in the interior of a word, or the inducing word may be lost. Thus Skt. *anyáḥ* 'other' beside Lat. *alius* Gr. ἄλλος Goth. *aljīs* pointing to IE **aljos* is explained as a blending of the synonyms *ántara-h* (Goth. *anþar*, Lith. *ántras*) and **alya-h* (cf. TAPA 46. 70), and yet rhymes with neither. Or Lith. *velkù*⁴ 'drag', as opposed to Gr. ἔλκω < **σέλκω* (cf. ὄλκος Lat. *sulcus* 'furrow'), received its *v* from IE *uel-* e.g. in Lat. *vello* 'I pluck', Gr. ἐλεῖν 'seize', Goth. *wilwan* 'rob', but since the original **selkō* disappeared, no rhyme-words resulted. Since these factors are more or less fortuitous the examples given below will not be classified on the basis of actual or possible former existence of rhyme-words.

Perhaps as striking and certain a case of word-contamination as can be found anywhere is ἐδωγαθή·τροφή Hesych.⁵ It is clear that the first word is a blend of ἐδωδή 'food' (cf. colloquial 'eats') and τὰ ἀγαθὰ 'good things' (as Xen. *An.* 4. 6. 27), in such a way, however, that the suffix, and gender of the whole was determined by the former, which was always used in that sense, while for the latter it was only an occasional use. This ἐδωγαθή is especially remarkable because of the almost equal influence of the two words involved, one contributing the first two syllables and the other the last two, except for the feminine ending -ή.

In Hesychius also is found βαγός· βασιλεύς. The former is the well-known ἄγός 'leader' with β- from the synonymous βασιλεύς 'king'.

From the same source comes ἄδδανον· ξηρόν. This is a con-

³ Otherwise Kretschmer, *KZ* 31. 408, 420.

⁴ Walde, *Lat. Et. Wörterb.*, would unite Lith. *velkù* and Gr. ἔλκω, etc. under IE **suelk-ō* — not very convincing because of the problematic nature of the sound change involved.

⁵ Schmidt assumes extensive corruption of the gloss, but when ἐδωγαθή is once understood, it is beyond suspicion.

tamination of a dialectic *ἄδδαλέος for ἄζαλέος 'dry' with its synonym αὔος 'dry'.

Possibly the Cretan ἀρχιλλάν· ἀρχιποίμενα (Hesych.) is to be explained as a blend of *ἄρχᾱν (Dor. acc. of ἄρχης, found only in compounds) and the accusative of Ἀχιλλεύς. If so, the name of the latter had become generalized as 'king' or 'ruler' in Crete.

Poorly attested because found only in the Thesaurus, which quotes other lexica, is λαφύγξ 'bite'. If it is a real form, it may be explained by contamination of some derivative of the verb root λαφ- 'gulp-down, devour' (cf. e. g. λαφύσσω) with λύγξ, gen. λυγγός 'hiccup': λύζω; cf. MHG *slucken* 'have the hiccup, swallow'.

The obscure σκύμνος 'cub, whelp' alongside of σκύλαξ has been satisfactorily explained neither by Osthoff, *Et. Par.* 1. 274, nor Schwyzer, *KZ* 37. 150 (σκύμνος < *σκνδμνος: σκνδμαίνω 'be angry'). Contamination here too offers a probable solution. The verb κύω beside κνέω 'be pregnant', but 'bear' in the middle, formed a root participle *κύμνος 'being borne, what is borne' with the old suffix -μνο- beside the regular -μενο-. This *κύμνος received an initial σ- from its synonym σκύλαξ, and σκύμνος was the result.

The puzzling νύξ 'night', with ν for expected ο corresponding to Lat. *nox*, Goth. *nahts*, etc., has not found a convincing explanation in the invention of a special ablaut grade for the Greek (Hirt, *Idg. Gr.* 2. 98). To assume its existence for this one word and a few others equally dubious is as easy and as far from convincing as to establish a complicated law of sound change for the benefit of a single word, as e. g. to say IE ο becomes Gr. ν in monosyllables if preceded by ν and followed by -ξ or -κτ-. Some analogical change is certainly the correct explanation here too. I suggest influence of a contrasting *λύξ 'light' (cf. Lat. *lūx*)⁶ which could evidently be used also of day-light, particularly of the break of dawn. The ν must have appeared first in the nom. sing., for only there νύξ and *λύξ were rhyme-words, while in the gen. e. g. νυκτός was contrasted with *λυκός: Lat. *lūcis*. Although this *λύξ is not actually found, its previous existence is made probable not only by the Lat. *lūx*, but

⁶ Lat. *lūx* of course does not correspond to *λυξ in root-grade, but to Goth. *liuhap* 'light' from the IE root-grade *leuk-.

also by other Greek derivatives which show the reduced grade of **leuk-* required by the above supposition. Thus cf. ἀμφι-λύκη 'twilight', which in an older form *ἀμφι-λυξ would have been a perfect source for the *υ* of the contrasting νύξ. As further evidence of the existence of the grade λυκ- in Greek may be cited λυκ-αυγής 'of the gray twilight', λύγδος 'white marble', λύχνος < *λυκσνος 'lamp'.

A more complex example of contamination involving three words is found in *IGRom.* 1.674.149: συμβέβηκεν τοίνυν τὰ δοκοῦντα τῆς κόμης ταῦτα πλεονεκτήματα τῷ χρόνῳ περιελθυθέναι αὐτῆς εἰς ἐλλαμπτώματα. As Mr. P. S. Costas suggests, the last word is the same as ἐλαττώματα 'disadvantages'. The double λλ and π are due to interference of ἐλ-λείπω 'fall short' or of its derivatives, as ἐλλεψις, while the μ comes from λαμβάνω, a purely formal confusion of λαμβάνω and λείπω due to the phonetic similarity and ultimate phonetic identity of e.g. the futures λήψομαι and λείψομαι or of derivatives like λείμμα and λῆμμα. In the case of such a ᾄπαξ λεγόμενον it is of course not certain whether the confusion of the three words was due to the speakers of the language or whether the stone-cutter is to be held responsible. In the latter case, while the mental process involved is similar, it is evident that the word does not deserve recognition as a real linguistic phenomenon.

The group of words denoting 'darkness', sc. κνέφας (κνέφος), ψέφας, δνόφος, γνόφος, and ζόφος, have been and are still a puzzle, but we can be sure that Wood, IE *a^x* : *a^xi* : *a^{xu}* 3 f., is right when he assumes mutual influence of different words, even if he did not attempt to decide in what way the contamination took place. Obviously the first step in coming closer to a solution is to establish the IE forms of the oldest words which contributed to the mixture. Now it is clear that the IE word for darkness is somehow represented by Skt. *kṣáp*, Av. *xšap* 'night', for this Aryan word is the only one which is not subject to the assimilative influence of others, and which is not phonetically obscure. This would represent an IE **ksep-*, which on the evidence of the *s*-stems of associated Gr. and Lat. words probably had a by-form **ksep-os* or **ksep-as*. In Lat. **ksep-os* became **crepus* of *crepusculum* ⁷ 'twilight', and, with thematic

⁷ If *creper* and *crepusculum* are really Sabine words (cf. Ernout, *Élém. dial. du vocab. latin*, 145), this does not affect their relation to

adjectival suffix, *creper* 'dusk, dark', the first *s* being dissimilated to *r* in the original **crepus*, or possibly there was a phonetic change of *ks-* > *kr-* (*cr-*).⁸ In Greek this **ξέπας* (or **κτέπας*)⁹ played a part in the development of the above group, but was changed so as to be unrecognizable.

The second IE word which must have played a part in the development of the group is **nebhos* 'cloud', the Skt. *nábhaḥ* and Gr. *νέφος*. The pre-supposed association of clouds and darkness is natural enough, and may be documented by such phrases as *σκότου νέφος* (Soph. *O. T.* 1313), used of blindness, or *νεφέλη κυανέη* (Hom.) 'the dark cloud' of death. The evidence of the influence of this **nebhos* in the Greek words for 'darkness' consists of the *φ* for IE *p* at the end of the root as well as the *ν* of *κνέφας*, for which no other possible source has as yet been found (cf. Güntert, *op. cit.*, p. 113).

For the root-vowel *o* of *δνόφος*, *γνόφος*, *ζόφος*, opposed to the *ε* of *κνέφας* and *ψέφας*, *ψέφος*, there is no other explanation necessary than ablaut, for the words with *o*-grade are masculines and *o*-stems, while those with *ε*-grades are neuters and *σ*-stems. The ablaut relation between *ὁ δνόφος*, etc. and *τὸ κνέφας*, etc. is therefore like that of *ὁ μόρος* and *τὸ μέρος*, *ὁ γόνος* and *τὸ γένος*.

The details of this contamination cannot of course be determined with certainty, but the following suggestions are in line with probable associative connections and the occurrence of the various words. In the first place it seems reasonable that **κσέπας* < IE **kseṛas* 'darkness' should be contaminated with *νέφος* 'cloud' to form *κνέφας* (Hom., etc.). More uncertain is the *δ* of *δνόφος*, but there is the possibility that *δν-* is a phonetic development of *τν-*, which does not occur in Greek initially. If that is the case **nobho-s*, in ablaut with **nebhos*, became **τνόφος* > *δνόφος* through influence of the IE **temos* = Skt. *tāmaḥ* 'darkness'. That *δνόφος* is a very old word is shown

the Skt. and Greek words. While medial Sabine *p* might represent IE *bh*, it might also be IE *p*.

⁸ Others less convincingly assume a change of **cnepos* to **crepos*, *crepus*- because of Gr. *κνέφας*.

⁹ If we assume IE **kḗp-*, the original Greek form would be **κτέπας*, but in view of the uncertainty of the existence of this group of IE spirants and the conditions under which they eventually developed from *s*, it will be well not to dogmatize about the exact form in Greek. Whether **ξέπας* or **κτέπας*, it would be subject to the same associations.

by the Homeric derivative adjective *δνοφερός*, which presupposes the former even though not itself found in Homer. In the next place *κνέφας* and *δνόφος* were contaminated to *γνόφος*, which does not occur before Aristotle and thus is a late development also according to documentary evidence. In this contamination the γ of *γνόφος* drew its velar articulation from *κνέφας* but retained the voiced character of the δ of *δνόφος*. As to *ψέφας* (only Hesych.),¹⁰ its very rareness lays it open to the suspicion of also being a later contamination. The ψ probably comes from τὸ ψῦχος 'cold', because of the natural association of the coolness and the darkness of the night, i. e. τὸ ψέφας = κνέφας + ψῦχος. There is now left only *ζόφος* (Hom., etc.) which differs from the other words in being associated particularly with the west and sunset, for which cf. also *ζέφυρος* 'west-wind'. The main part of this shows it to be a rhyme-word influenced by *δνόφος*, but the ζ is obscure. A possibility is that it stands for δ_ι- < δ_{φι}-, so that *ζόφος* might be a contamination of an old abstract *δ_φ-iā 'sunset': δύω (cf. from the same root δύσις and δυσμή in this sense) and *δνόφος*. For the change of δ_{φι}- to δ_ι- cf. Brugmann-Thumb, 50.

Sometimes contamination or word-blending may throw some light on obscure words without being able to give a full explanation. Thus the suffixal -ντ- of Gr. πᾶς παντός 'all' is the same as that of the Hittite *humanz(a)* 'all', and this identity of suffixes leads to the suspicion of some association in the IE period without being able to tell anything about the roots, which cannot possibly be related according to our present state of knowledge.

A similar instance in the case of which rather the root-parts seem related and the suffixes remain obscure is the Gr. ἄνθρωπος 'man' beside Hittite *antuhzas* 'man'. We can get the first three sounds under one formula by setting up IE *andh- or *andh, but the word ends are clearly not related. Undoubtedly the Hittite has the better chance of representing in some way the original form, for ἄνθρωπος is probably under the influence

¹⁰ The parallel *ψέφος* cited from Alcaeus is merely an unnecessary and highly improbable conjecture of Lobeck, but Hesychius has *ψέφος·καπνός*, which may be the same word as *ψέφας*. The existence of the latter is proved also by the derivative adjective *ψεφαρός* (Galen, *Lex. Hipp.*).

of *ἄνδρ-ωψ*, literally 'with a man's face', and Curtius, *Gr. Etym.*⁵ 522, even derived *ἄνθρωπος* directly from *ἀνήρ* + *ῶψ* — wrongly of course because he could not explain *θ* for *δ*. The Hittite on the other hand has the variants *antuwahhas* and *antuwahza*, so that we cannot establish the original word end even from this source. I therefore suggest merely as a possibility that the IE original may have been **andhōyo-s* or **andhōyo-s* in ablaut with *-ū(u)o-s*. The Hittite added another suffix, be it that *-ha-* is itself the formative part, or be it that *h* was developed between *-o-* and the suffix *-o-s* to avoid hiatus. In either case *antuwahhas*¹¹ is the result. In Greek on the other hand **andhōyo-s* became **ἀνθωρος* and this was contaminated with the synonymous *ἄνδρ-ωψ* or rather its pre-historic thematic variant **ἄνδρ-ωπος* to form *ἄνθρωπος*. If this was done by conscious association with the final of **ἄνδρ-ωπος* it was a case of popular etymology, otherwise merely word-contamination.

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¹¹ The regular *antuhsas* must be a later development in this case. I refrain from attempting an explanation.

ON THE MIGRATION OF ROMANS TO SICILY.

That many Romans migrated to Sicily to exploit the resources of the island is clear from the Verrine orations. Cicero mentions the *conventus civium* and *cives qui negotiantur* at Agrigentum, Halaesa, Lilybaeum, Panormus, and Syracuse,¹ and at Syracuse at least he once mentions a group of a hundred that made a protest to Verres. Cicero, *de Off.*, 3, 58, has the story of a rich Roman who retired to Syracuse as early as about 100 B. C.

Among those who owned land in Sicily, Cicero mentions two of the senatorial class, Annaeus Brocchus, otherwise unknown (*Verres* 3, 93) and the wife of Cassius, the consul of 73 (3, 97). Six knights are mentioned as owning land in Sicily;² four are definitely said to be in business there,³ and several others had at least some property there.⁴ It is also likely that several knights who served as witnesses against Verres were residents in Sicily.⁵ The provenance of the publicans who operated in Sicily during Verres' term is usually not clear. The managers of the scriptura and customs-collections, like Carpinatius (3, 166) and Canuleius (2, 171), would be Romans sent down temporarily for the purpose. In the contracts for the wheat tithes the Roman societates could not participate, but individual Romans might come down to bid. Besides the many Sicilians—even *hieroduli* of the temple of Venus—who engaged in this business, we have some ten men of Latin name who submitted bids.⁶ Some of these were probably from Rome, others resided in Sicily.

¹ Cf. Kornemann, art. "conventus" in *Realenc.* IV, 1183.

² P. Clonius, murdered by his slaves in 105 (Diod. 36, fr. 4), M. Cossutius (*Verres* 3, 55 and 185), Q. Lollius (3, 61-5), C. Matrinus (3, 60; 5, 15), Q. Septicius (3, 36), P. Trebonius (1, 123).

³ Cn. Calidius (4, 42), Q. Minucius Rufus (2, 69; 3, 148; 4, 63), L. Raecius (5, 161 and 168), and Cn. Otacilius Naso (Cic. *Fam.* 13, 33).

⁴ M. Caelius (4, 37), L. Papinius (4, 46), M. Petilius (2, 71), L. Suetius (2, 31; 5, 147).

⁵ M. Annus (5, 73; 156), Cn. Fannius (1, 128), M. Modius (2, 119), C. Numitorius (5, 163), Cn. Sertius (2, 119).

⁶ Q. Apronius (3, 22-24), Atidius (3, 75), M. Caesius (3, 89), Q. Minucius (3, 148), Naevius Turpio (5, 108), L. Rubrius (3, 132), P. Scandilius (3, 135), Cn. Sergius (3, 102; 161), Venuleius (3, 99), L. Vibius (2, 182).

Besides the above-mentioned we have the names of about twenty-five of less distinction who had served in Verres' cohort or had suffered some injustice from Verres.

However, what I should like to point out here is that a Latin name in Sicily is very far from being a guarantee that the bearer is in any ordinary sense a "Roman." In the first place the South Italians—long before they gained Roman citizenship—began to exploit the financial opportunities of Sicily. The first Latin inscription in Sicily that we know of dates very probably from 193 B. C. (*C. I. L.* I², 612) and was erected by the *Italici*, not the Romans; and at Syracuse, the elder Scipio (about 205) was requested to keep the *Italian* colony in order (*Livy* 29, 1, 16). During the Servile war of 133 B. C., *Italian* and Sicilian land owners were equally affected by the revolt, according to *Diodorus* (34, 27 and 34). Only in one place (34, 2, 3) does he mention the *Romans*, and there he is in error, for he assumes there that in 133 Roman knights had undue influence with governors "because they served on juries at home"—which is an anachronism. Knights did not serve as jurors at Rome till 123. By the time we get fuller records these South Italians are Roman citizens, or at least potential citizens, because of the law of 89, and Cicero is careful not to weaken his case against Verres at Rome by needlessly calling attention to the real provenance of such *equites* and *cives Romani*.

But now and then the facts come out. When, for instance, Cicero charged Verres with putting *cives* to death untried, Verres' answer was that these were Sertorians or pirates. The famous Gavius, who was crucified (*Verres* 5, 158 ff.), was originally from Italian Compsa, and we have no evidence that he had actually registered so as to become a "Roman citizen." The fact is that many South Italians, especially Samnites, failed to register as citizens in 89, and after keeping up the "social" struggle against Sulla, escaped to Spain with Sertorius. Legally such men were not yet citizens, and there can be little doubt that shippers from the southern points did send provisions to their friends in rebellion in Spain, and, as they were dealing in contraband, they could be called pirates. To this class Herennius, the other notorious *civis* (who bore a name common among Sabellic folk, had lived in Syracuse and traded in Africa: *Verres* 1, 14;

5, 155), seems really to have belonged. Verres was brutal, but he often had an argument which Cicero could afford to disregard, since he was no longer in danger of cross-examination when he wrote the later Verrine speeches.

The knights L. Suetius (*Verres* 5, 147), L. Bruttius (*Fam.* 13, 38), and Popilius Diocles (*Verres* 4, 35), for instance, have names that are hardly Roman. L. Manilius Sosis (*Fam.* 13, 30) was a Neapolitan. Furius, despite his name, was not even a citizen (*Verres* 5, 112). Cicero's comment that many Sicilians have Latin names like that is instructive on this point. We may infer from it that Lucanians and Oscans had settled long ago in Sicily and had become citizens of Sicilian towns, having either lost or neglected to claim the privilege of Roman franchise open to Italians of the peninsula after 89. But doubtless most of the *Italici* doing business in Sicily did sooner or later claim Roman citizenship, and I doubt not that a large proportion of the *equites* and *cives* mentioned in these speeches were of that class. And here we should also mention that all the citizens of Messana, so far as they descended from the Mamertines, bore Latin or Sabellic names. The famous Heius (*Verres* 4, 3) is a case in point.

Furthermore many of the Sicilians had also received Roman-citizenship. In *Pro Balbo* (50) Cicero mentions that Pompey bestowed it upon the Ovii at Messana, and he probably also was the one who gave it to Cn. Pompeius Theodorus (*Verres* 2, 102); Cn. Pompeius, "fuit Philo" (4, 48); Cn. Pompeius Basiliscus (4, 25); Pompeius, formerly Percennius of Messana (4, 25); and perhaps Sex. Pompeius Chlorus—who had won citizenship "because of his merits" (2, 23 and 102). Others of the same type are Q. Lutatius Diodorus (honored at the request of Catulus: 4, 37); Q. Caecilius (by gift of Q. Metellus: 2, 19); Q. Caecilius Niger (Siculus domo—the opponent of Cicero in the first speech: *Div.* 39 and *Pseudo-Asconius, ad loc.*); A. Claudius, formerly Apollonius (*Verres* 2, 140; 4, 37: by gift of Claudius Marcellus in 79?); A. Licinius Aristoteles (*Fam.* 13, 52); C. Avianius Philoxenus (Caesar gave him citizenship at Cicero's request in 59: *Fam.* 13, 35, 1); P. Cornelius Megas (Caesar gave it at Cicero's and Dolabella's request, *Fam.* 13, 36); the brothers M. Clodius Archagathus and C. Clodius Philo

(*Fam.* 13, 32. The grant probably came from Claudius Marcellus). It is also likely that C. Flavius Hemic—(?) and his brother were Sicilian Greeks (*Fam.* 13, 31; *Verres* 5, 15 and 155). Here I have listed the names of those who are specifically said to have received citizenship and a few who bear names of former governors. But since the recipients did not always assume the names of the bestowers, many of the other names mentioned above may well belong to the same class.

That the islanders had not to any great extent lost their properties to the immigrants is also quite clear from the orations against Verres. Cicero mentions over 60 names of Sicilians of importance, and when he enumerates the large estates on which Verres' agents had found slaves who were accused of revolting, he lists five native Sicilian landlords but only one Roman. The names are Aristodamus, Leon, Eumenides, Apollonius (son of Diocles), Leonidas, and C. Matrinus, eques. (5, 10-16).

My conclusion from this brief and incomplete survey would be that people of Rome and Central Italy had not to any great extent migrated to Sicily; that the Sicilians had themselves engaged in large-scale farming and ranching to a wide extent, and had adequately taken care of their own business; that South Italians who were near had migrated there to some extent, probably to escape military service at home, and certainly to avoid the disasters of the Social war; and that a large proportion of the "Roman citizens" found in Sicily were South Italians whose franchise dated from the law of 89, or Sicilians who had been granted the franchise by favor of some Roman governor of Sicily.

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THE TREATY BETWEEN ATHENS AND HALIAI.

There are preserved in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens and in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, England, fragments of a stele which records a treaty between Athens and the small town of Haliai in the Peloponnesos (*I. G.*, I², 87).¹ Numerous attempts have been made to restore the text of the document, but definite progress was assured only after the discovery of the Athena Nike inscription (*I. G.*, I², 25). Both decrees were passed in the same prytany of the year, when Neokleides was secretary; and it is now possible to restore the name of the prytany Aigeis in *I. G.*, I², 87, thus determining the normal length of the stoichedon line as 42 letters. The present text given in the *editio minor* of the *Corpus* allows 42 letters in lines 2-4, but assigns only 41 letters to lines 5-19. This disposition is incorrect, and depends upon an erroneous observation made by Kirchhoff in his publication in *I. G.*, I, suppl. p. 20, no. 71 (see his majuscule copy of fragment *a*).² In point of fact the stoichedon order is disturbed in line 4 (which has in consequence 43 instead of 42 letters), but lines 5-19 should all be restored, so far as our evidence shows, with the normal line of 42 letters. In the preserved section of the inscription there is only one other demonstrable irregularity in the stoichedon order, near the end of line 25. This line should also be restored with 43 instead of 42 letters.

These merely physical considerations make it evident that the present restorations of lines 5-19, which are based on an incorrect length of line, must be changed.

The restorations proposed in the following pages conform to the stoichedon arrangement of the inscription (except where noted), and derive fresh support from evidence in Thucydides which has not before been considered in connection with this document.

The date now assigned to *I. G.*, I², 87 is "ante aetatem a. 418." But, whatever the date, it must be the same as that of

¹ We are indebted to Miss Winifred Lamb for sending to us for study a squeeze of the fragment in Cambridge.

² Kumanudis, *Ἀθήναιον*, V (1876), p. 168, merely remarks that the strict stoichedon order begins in line 5, and that some anomalies exist above.

I. G., I², 25, which is given in the *Corpus* as 420/19. Kirchhoff sought to show that the date was not earlier than 420 because of the character of the writing, in particular because of the datives in *-ais*. But this criterion no longer gives so late an *ante quem non*, for datives in *-ais* are found before 420. Wade-Gery gives a useful reference-table in *J. H. S.*, LI (1931), pp. 81-82, to which should be added the examples from the decree of Kallias in 434 (*I. G.*, I², 91, lines 6, 18). So far as general epigraphical appearances are concerned a date earlier than 420 is probably preferable to a date after 420, for the one fragment (*e*) erroneously assigned to this inscription on the basis of letter forms and general appearance has been shown definitely to belong to *I. G.*, I², 63, which is dated in 425/4 (Meritt and West, *The Athenian Assessment of 425 B. C.*, pp. 10-11, frag. 10). There are other considerations, from the document itself, which favor a date earlier than 420.

The orator of the decree was Laches, who has been quite generally identified as Laches, son of Melanopos, of Aixone. He belonged to the conservative peace-party of Nikias, was orator of the decree which sanctioned the Truce of 423 (Thuc. IV, 118, 11), was one of the signatories of the Peace of Nikias (Thuc. V, 19, 2) and of the alliance with Sparta in 421 (Thuc. V, 24), and had collaborated actively with Nikias in bringing about the peace (Thuc. V, 43, 2). He lost his life at Mantinea in 418. In lines 16-17 of the present inscription is the phrase *héos áv ho póλ | [εμος éi -]*.³ Such an expression is an anachronism in the years immediately following the Peace of Nikias. Even though there was a group in Athens, led by Alcibiades, which had begun active attempts to undermine the peace as early as 420, it was not until the winter of 419/8 that the Athenians wrote upon the Spartan stele that the Spartans had violated their oaths (Thuc. V, 56, 3). They were persuaded to do this by Alcibiades.

The fact that *I. G.*, I², 87 recognizes in formal diplomatic language that a state of war existed precludes, therefore, any date between 421 and the winter of 419/8. The fact that Laches was the orator of the decree precludes also, in our opinion, a date in 419/8.

The one most obvious feature of Athenian foreign policy from

³ For a text of the inscription see below, pp. 69-70.

420 to 418 was the dominating influence of Alcibiades. Thucydides informs us that he was motivated, in large part, at least, out of spite against Nikias and Laches (V, 43, 2). That Laches should have proposed a decree recognizing a state of war in 419/8, or in any earlier year after the Peace of Nikias, would imply a complete change of party affiliation on his part, and a willingness on the part of Alcibiades to concede to him a share in his diplomatic manoeuvres which Thucydides denies. The date of *I. G.*, I², 87 must be sought in some year earlier than 421.

The date must also be later than 425/4, for in that year the Athenians established a fort at Methone and ravaged the land of Epidauros, Troizen, and Haliai (Thuc. IV, 45, 2). These plundering expeditions lasted for some time (τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον) though there is evidence that a treaty had been made with Troizen before the spring of 423 (Thuc. IV, 118, 4).⁴ The reason for entering into the covenant on the part of Troizen is easily inferred: they secured to themselves thereby immunity from further Athenian raids. But the same incentive was operative in the case of Haliai as well, and a highly suitable dramatic date for *I. G.*, I², 87 is thus found in the interval between 425 and 423, at the same time when the treaty was made between Athens and Troizen. Since Aigeis held the fourth prytany in 425/4,⁵ a date in this year would probably fall too soon after the establishment of the fort at Methone. The inscription is best dated in 424/3, but before the spring of 423 when Akamantis held the eighth prytany (Thuc. IV, 118, 11; Meritt, *The Athenian Calendar*, pp. 87-88). Laches, the orator of *I. G.*, I², 87, was orator also for the decree of the truce passed in the same year. His prominence in Athenian public affairs, which is implied in *I. G.*, I², 87, is attested by Thuc. IV, 118, 11.

The date here proposed makes possible a better interpretation of the provisions of the decree itself. The Halieis agreed, in the terms of the covenant, not to join with the enemy in campaigning against the Athenians or their allies (lines 8-9), and not to receive garrisons within their walls to the detriment of the Athenians (lines 10-11). These promises have little mean-

⁴ For Thucydides' failure to record the treaty when it was made, cf. Kirchhoff, *Thukydides und sein Urkundenmaterial*, pp. 10-11, 26.

⁵ Meritt and West, *The Athenian Assessment of 425 B. C.*, p. 56.

ing unless the Athenians in question are somewhere near Haliai for it is difficult to see what great harm could be done the Athenians in Athens by hostile garrisons at Haliai. The provisions have significance if the Athenians to be protected were at Methone; Athens had secured by her treaty with Troizen one buffer state against hostile attack, and now by agreement with Haliai she obtained still further security. But the most convincing interpretation is that she was protecting Athenians in Haliai itself.

The inscription (from lines 5 to 19) falls naturally into two parts. First are listed the obligations of the Halieis toward the Athenians (5-11), and then are listed the obligations of the Athenians toward the Halieis (11-19). With this division of the document in mind, it becomes evident that the "return to their own land" (line 17) after doing something "so long as the war shall last" (line 16) was a promise made by the Athenians, and in fact the word Ἀθε | [ναίος] appears in lines 15-16 as subject of the verb (whatever it may be) which must be supplied in line 16. Now, a return of the Athenians to their own land can only mean, within reason, a return from Haliai. The Athenians stipulated that they would maintain a garrison so long as the war should last, but promised to return home when peace was made. The text is easily restored to conform to this interpretation (lines 15-18): Ἀθε | [ναίος δὲ φυλάττειν ἐν ἡαλιεῦσι φρορ] ἂν ἡέος ἂν ἡο πόλ | [εμος ζι· ἡόταν δὲ ἐρέγε γένηται ἐς τ] ἐν σφετέραν αὐτῷ | [ν ἀποκομιζόσθον --].

This gives at once reason to doubt the traditional restoration *ἡοπλίτας* in line 5. It was supposed that the Halieis were to furnish hoplites, and that they should return home when the war was over, but if the "return home" was an Athenian promise to leave Haliai, there is no longer any reason to assume that the Halieis were to furnish hoplites to the Athenians at all. If the Athenians were to have a naval base at Haliai, what they wanted from the Halieis was permission to land their ships there and maintain their post. Instead of *ἡοπλίτας* in line 5 the restoration should be ἀπόβασιν or κατάπλον or ναύλοχον or ναύσταθμον or simply σταθμόν with ταῖς ναυσίν in the following line. This last suggestion has been adopted in the text of the covenant in lines 5 and 6, and the equivalent restoration ναύσταθμον has

been made in the text of the oath in line 22. The oath confirms the terms of the covenant. The provisions of lines 6-11 now all have appropriate significance. The security of this base would be threatened, even more than that at Methone, by allowing plunderers to rove afield in Halic territory, or by receiving hostile garrisons within the walls. On their part, the Halieis might expect with complete justification that the Athenians should return home from Haliai after the war was over. They exacted also from the Athenians a promise not to disturb them in the quiet possession of their property nor to allow anyone of the enemy to do so (lines 13-15). In case of trouble they were given access to the demos itself at Athens (lines 18-19).

A tentative restoration is perhaps the best commentary that can be offered on the significance of the decree.

424/3 B. C.

I. G., I², 87

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 42

- [N ε] ο κ λ ε ί δ [ε ς — — — — — ε γ ρ α] μ μ ά τ ε ν ε
 ἔδοχσεν τῷ [βολεῖ καὶ τοῖ δέμοι· Αἰγεί]ς ἐπρυτάνευε,
 Νεοκλείδες [ἐγραμμάτευε, ἔπεισ]τάτε, Δάχες ε
 ἱπε· χσνυθέκα[ς καὶ χσνυμαχίαν καὶ ἡόρκο]ς ἔναι ἀδόλο
 5 ς Ἀθηναῖοι[ς καὶ ἡαλιεύσιν· σταθμὸν δὲ πα]ρέχ[ε]ν ἡαλι
 ᾱς Ἀθηναί[οις ταῖς ναυσὶν καὶ προθύμος ὀφελῆ]ν Ἀθε[ν]
 αῖος καὶ λ[ειστὰς μὲ ἡνποδέχεσθαι μεδ' α]ὐτ[ὸς λ]είξε[σ]
 θαι μεδὲ χσ[υστρατεύεσθαι μετὰ τὸν πολ]εμίον ἐπ' [Ἀθε]
 ναῖος μεδ' ἐ[πὶ τὸς χσνυμάχος τὸν Ἀθηναί]ον μεδὲ χρ[έμ]
 10 ατα παρέχε[ν τοῖς πολεμίοις μεδ' ἐς τὰ τ]είχε ἡνποδέχ
 εσθαι φρ[ορὸς ἀδικέσοντας Ἀθηναῖος· ἐ]ὰν δέ τις ἴει π
 [ολέμιος ἐπὶ ἡαλιᾱς βοεθῇν Ἀθηναῖος ἡαλ]ιεύσιν ἐτο
 [ίμος καὶ ἡό, τι ἂν δύνονται ὀφελῆν ἡαλι]ᾱς· ἡόσα δὲ ἔχο
 [σιν ἡαλιᾱς Ἀθηναῖος οἰκῇν ἑᾶν, ἀδικ]ῇν δὲ μεδὲν ἡαλι
 15 [ᾱς μεδὲ περιορᾶν ἑὰν ἀδικέσει τις τ]ὸν πολεμίον· Ἀθε
 [ναῖος δὲ φυλάττεν ἐν ἡαλιεύσι φρορ]ᾶν ἡέος ἂν ἡο πόλ
 [εμος ἔι, ἡόταν δὲ ἐρένε γένηται ἐς τ]ὴν σφετέραν αὐτῷ
 [ν ἀποκομιζόσθον· ἐὰν δέ ποτε ἄλλο τ]ο δέονται δικαίω
 [ἡαλιᾱς παρὰ τῷ δέμω τῷ Ἀθηναῖον ἡε]νυρισκόσθον. ν ν ν ν
 20 [ἡόρκον ὀμνῆναι ἡαλιᾱς τόνδε· φίλο]ι ἐσόμεθα Ἀθηναί
 [οις καὶ χσνυμαχοι πιστοὶ καὶ παρέ]χσομεν Ἀθηναῖοι
 [ς ναύσταθμον καὶ προθύμος ὀφελέσ]ομεν Ἀθηναῖος κα
 [τὰ τὸ δυνατόν ἐμ παντὶ καιρῷ καὶ ἐ]μμενῶμεν ταῖς χσ
 [νυθέκαις πιστὸς καὶ ἀδόλος Ἀθηνα]ίοις· ὀμνύντον δὲ

- 25 [τὸν Ἀπόλλο καὶ ἐχσόλειαν αὐτοῖς ἐ]παράσθον εἰ μὲ ἐμμ
[ένοσι μεδὲ τὲν χσνμμαχίαν φυλάχσοσ]ιν ἡαλιῆς· ὁμ[νύ]
[ντον δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίον ἡε βολὲ καὶ ἡοι σ]τρατεγοὶ ἐμμε
[νέν ταῖς χσννθέκαις καθ' ἡὰ χσννέθεντ]ο πρὸς ἡαλιῶς.
[τένδε <δὲ> τὲν χσνμμαχίαν καὶ τὰς χσννθέ]κας ἀναγραφσά
30 [το ἐστέλει λιθίνει ἡο γραμματεὺς τέ]ς βολῆς καὶ κατα
[θέτο ἐμ πόλει· ἡοι δὲ κολακρέται δόντ]ον [τὸ] ἀργύριον.
[ἡαλιῆς δὲ θέντον τὲν στέλεν ἐν τῷ ἰ]ερῷ[ι τ]ὸ Ἀπόλλον
[ος ἐν ἡαλιεῦσιν· ἐὰν δὲ τὲν χσνμμαχία]ν ἀν[α]νεῶν[τ]α[ι ὁ]
[μύντον κατὰ ταῦτά· ἡαλιῶν ὄμνον . . .]ος Ἀγακ[λ. . .]
35 [-----]
[-----] ι κ [-----]
[-----]

NOTES ON TEXT

Line 4 has 43 letters, for the last two letters of εἶπε and the first three letters of χσννθέκα[s] occupy only four spaces.

For the reading of lines 7-8, cf. Ditt., *Syll.*,³ 38, lines 20-22; also *I. G.*, I², 53, lines 7-8.

In line 9 the stone is so preserved that before the letters ON iota alone seems possible.

Lines 13-14: For ἡόσα δὲ ἔχο[σιν --] cf. Thuc. IV, 118, 4.

Line 25: The last letter of [ἐ]παράσθον and the first letter of εἰ occupy only one space. This line has 43 letters.

Line 28: For [καθ' ἡὰ χσννέθεντ]ο cf. Thuc. IV, 118, 4.

Line 29: We have assumed that in this line the particle δὲ was omitted by mistake.

Line 30: We have assumed that two letters again occupied the place of one in λιθίνει and that the line contained 43 letters. Such an assumption would not be necessary if the aspirate was omitted from ἡο. But cf. ἡο in line 16 and [ἡε] and [ἡοι] in line 27.

The preserved portion of line 35 is uninscribed.

Below line 35 are preserved parts of two letters (larger than the others) which look like IK, not IM as indicated in the *Corpus*.

No account is taken here of *I. G.*, I², 87, fragment f, which may belong to the lower part of the inscription now lost, or indeed not to this inscription at all.

The principal conclusions to be drawn from this study are that the Athenian raids from Methone after 425 were so effective as to make it seem advisable to the Haliæis to enter into a covenant with the Athenians, and that the Athenians gained

from this covenant the privilege of establishing a naval base in Haliai for the duration of the war. It is of importance also that the date of the decree can be determined as *ca.* 424 B. C., for the fixing of this date fixes also the date of the famous Athena Nike inscription (*I. G.*, I², 25). This inscription authorizes the fulfilment of certain provisions of an earlier decree which had never been carried out (*I. G.*, I², 24). Although the building of the temple of Athena Nike was authorized in the earlier decree, the stone is so broken that there is no mention of it preserved in the later decree. Whether it was mentioned there or not cannot be known with certainty. But the evidence of the Athena Nike inscription, so far as it goes, now points definitely to a date for the temple in 424/3 B. C.

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PROSOPOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON THE TREATY BETWEEN ATHENS AND HALIAI.

Professor Meritt has asked me to present certain prosopographical evidence in support of the date 424/3 for the Athenian treaty with Haliai. In this connection two additional inscriptions, other than the one containing the text of the treaty, must be considered. The first, *I. G.*, I², 145, is a fragmentary decree in honor of an otherwise unknown Sotimos of Herakleia. The second is a fifth-century decree appended to a fourth-century text and published now as *I. G.*, II², 8 (Dittenberger, *Sylloge*³, 118); it honors Herakleides of Klazomenai for assisting an Athenian embassy in its negotiations with the Great King of Persia. The name of Neokleides is the connecting link between these two decrees and the treaty with Haliai. Ferguson's tentative suggestion that this name be restored as that of the secretary in *I. G.*, I², 145 (*Athenian Secretaries*, p. 14) has been accepted by Patience Haggard (*Proc. Am. Phil. Assn.*, LVII [1926], p. xxxi). The restoration is very probable because of the conjunction of a secretary Νε--- with a prytany name of six letters, Αἰγείς or Οἰνείς. Thus the prescript can be made to conform with *I. G.*, I², 25 and 87 as follows:

[ἔδοχσεν τῇ] βολῇ κα[ὶ] τοῖ [δέμ]
[οι· Αἰγείς ἐπρυτάνε]νε, Νε[οκλε]
[ίδες ἐγραμμάτευε, -----]

Measurements on the stone show that there were 24 (not 26) letters in these lines. The document should then be assigned to the same prytany as the treaty with Haliai and the second Athena Nike decree (*I. G.*, I², 25).

In *I. G.*, II², 8, Neokleides presided over the meeting of the assembly in which the appended fifth-century decree was passed. Thus he must have been a member of the Boule at the time. The secretary Neokleides was also a member of the Boule. The question arises immediately whether the secretary was the same man as the presiding officer; if he was, we can assign the Herakleides inscription with considerable probability to the same year as the treaty with Haliai.

Koehler, in discussing the decree for Herakleides,¹ showed

¹ *Hermes*, XXVII (1892), 68 ff.

that the embassy mentioned in that document was probably the one to which Andocides also referred (III, 29). Andocides' uncle Epilykos, son of Teisandros, served on the embassy, which negotiated a treaty with the Great King. Koehler's further analysis showed that this treaty was made early in the reign of Darius Ochus. He assigned it, therefore, tentatively to the year 423. It cannot be dated earlier, for in the winter of 425/4 ambassadors who had been sent to Artaxerxes, learning of his death upon their arrival in Ephesus, returned home with nothing accomplished.² According to Edouard Meyer (*Forschungen zur alten Geschichte*, II, 482-487), Artaxerxes died in December or January of the winter 425/4. After his death there was a period of about nine months before Darius II (Ochus) established himself upon the throne. His accession followed the unsuccessful attempts of Xerxes II (two months) and Sogdianos (seven months) to secure the royal authority.³ It can be dated then about September 424, early in the Athenian year 424/3. Thus Koehler's date for the treaty in 423 is intrinsically probable.

As Epilykos is now known to have been first secretary of the Boule in the year 424/3,⁴ it is evident that the embassy did not leave Athens before the second prytany of that year (*ca.* Aug. 11). Furthermore, the fact that both Epilykos, the leader of the embassy, and Neokleides, under whose presidency Herakleides was honored for his services to the embassy,⁵ were prominent members of the Boule in 424/3 is strong presumptive evidence that the embassy should be assigned to that year.

The name of the prytany in office at the time Herakleides was honored can now be considered. As it contained nine letters, there are two restorations epigraphically possible: [*Ἀκαμαντ*]*ίς* and [*Παρδιον*]*ίς*. [*Ἀκαμαντ*]*ίς*, however, is not possible if the inscription belongs to the year 424/3, for Phainippos was secretary for Akamantis in that year,⁶ whereas Σ[...] appears as secretary in the decree for Herakleides. Thus we can tentatively

² Thuc. IV, 50.

³ Diod. XII, 71.

⁴ Haggard, *Proc. Am. Phil. Assn.*, LVII (1926), p. xxxii; cf. Meritt, *The Athenian Calendar*, p. 26.

⁵ This presupposes that this Neokleides was identical with the secretary.

⁶ Thuc. IV, 118; *I. G.*, I², 57, 70.

restore the name [Πανδίων]⁷is and assign the decree to the tenth, or possibly to the ninth, prytany of 424/3. The eighth prytany was Akamantis. On this assumption the embassy returned to Athens in May or June, 423.⁷

Another possible link between the inscription for Herakleides and the year 424/3 is the name Thucydides. A man by this name moved a rider to the decree. Possibly he can be identified with the chairman of the board of treasurers of Athena in that year.⁸

Returning now to *I. G.*, I², 145, we must consider further the propriety of assigning it to the same prytany as the treaty with Haliai. Although the body of the inscription is lost, the superscription shows that the decree conferred upon Sotimos of Herakleia and his descendants the titles "proxenos and benefactor." It is a fair inference, therefore, that Sotimos had recently befriended Athenians in Herakleia. In any case, it indicates that Athens was now interesting herself in the affairs of Herakleia. Despite the fact that there were many Herakleias in the Greek world, there can be little doubt as to the one which was foremost in the minds of Athenians during the summer of 424. The wealthy Pontic city of that name had been placed upon the roll of tributary members of the Athenian empire only a few months before the conjectural date of our decree.⁹ So far

⁷ There is of course the possibility that Neokleides served two terms in the Boule, or that the secretary Neokleides of 424/3 was not the same man as the presiding officer mentioned in the inscription honoring Herakleides. In that case we might assign the return of the embassy to the year 423/2. This does not affect our proposed restoration [Πανδίων]^{is} ἐπρυτάνευεν in *I. G.*, II², 8, for the secretary of Akamantis (Prytany I) in 423/2 was Demetrios of Kollyte (*I. G.*, I², 324). Since Pandionis held the third prytany in 423/2, we must still date the return of the embassy in the summer of 423. On this assumption, then, we need have no hesitation about assigning Neokleides to the tribe Pandionis, since the presiding officer belonged to the prytany in office. Unfortunately, no Neokleides of Pandionis is known, whereas in two instances the name appears during the fourth century in the tribe Akamantis. If our Neokleides was actually a member of Akamantis, the first possible date for the return of the embassy is the year 422/1. Whether or not the Neokleides prominent about 424/3 was the noted "grafter" of Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 665, 716, 747, and schol.; *Eccles.*, 254, 398 (cf. Suidas; Kirchner, *Pros. Att.*, 10631) is doubtful.

⁸ *I. G.*, I², 242, 324.

⁹ Meritt and West, *The Athenian Assessment of 425 B. C.*, p. 68, line 487.

as we know it had never before been subject to Athens. Furthermore, a tribute-collecting squadron under the command of Lamachos was wrecked in the territory of Herakleia during the summer of 424. At that time Lamachos and his troops would have been in need of help from the inhabitants of the town. May we not then regard the decree for Sotimos as a sequel to Lamachos' unfortunate expedition? If we assume that Sotimos received his honors shortly after the return of Lamachos during the summer or autumn of 424, the decree would fall within the period to which Meritt and Davidson assign the treaty with Haliai.

Further evidence that Athens had some sort of relations with Herakleia about this time is to be found in the comedies of 423 and 422. In a fragment from the *Πόλεις* of Eupolis we find this phrase:

ἐξ Ἡρακλείας ἀργύριον ὑφέιλετο.¹⁰

These words were spoken of Simon, a politician whose name became a by-word for greed and dishonesty.¹¹ In as much as Aristophanes in the *Clouds* (351, 399) twice calls attention to his evil reputation, it is certain that the misdeeds to which Aristophanes and Eupolis refer were affairs of the immediate past. If the Herakleia of Simon's peculation was not the Pontic city, as seems probable,¹² we can still associate Sotimos with Lamachos; or if Sotimos was not a citizen of the Pontic Herakleia, he may have lived in Simon's Herakleia.

One further conjecture remains to be mentioned. In *I. G.*, II², 8, the secretary's name is preserved as Σ[...]. Although there are fifteen or twenty Athenian names which might be restored, only a few of them were used in the fifth and fourth centuries. Of these remaining possibilities the name Simon immediately suggests itself as likely, for there were three or four prominent men so called during the early years of the Peloponnesian war. One was a philosophically minded shoemaker associated with Socrates.¹³ A second wrote a treatise on the training

¹⁰ Schol. Aristophanes, *Nubes*, 351; Kock, *Com. Att. Frg.*, I, Eupolis, no. 218.

¹¹ See Suidas: Σίμωνος ἀπακτικώτερος.

¹² Cf. Paul Geissler, *Chronologie der altattischen Komödie*, p. 39.

¹³ Kirchner, *Pros. Att.*, 12688; cf. Hobein in *R. E.*, no. 6.

of horses.¹⁴ A third was hipparch.¹⁵ And the fourth was the "grafter" about whom Aristophanes and Eupolis wrote. Any one of these men might have been a member of the Boule in 424/3, but in view of the fact that our fourth Simon was notorious about the time to which we have assigned the decree for Herakleides, he becomes a preferred candidate for the position of secretary during the prytany of Pandionis in 424/3. Activity in the Boule might easily have occasioned Aristophanes' criticisms; and possibly it culminated in a trial important enough to give point to the censures of Eupolis in the following year.¹⁶

Before we conclude this survey of the decrees of 424/3, a word must be said about *I. G.*, I², 68 and 69. Since they deal apparently with Boeotian affairs, they have been tentatively ascribed to the year of Delium. If they have been correctly dated in 424/3, it now follows that the first must be restored with Neokleides as secretary, for Aigeis held the prytany when the decree was passed. On the other hand, if the two decrees were passed in the same prytany, both of them must be assigned to another year, for the secretary of *I. G.*, I², 69 was Φιλ---. Since the secretary of Aigeis in 425/4 was [...]επ[πος]¹⁷ we might restore Φιλ[εππος] and assign them to the autumn of 425.

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¹⁴ Kirchner, *Pros. Att.*, 12689; cf. Wickert in *R. E.*, no. 7.

¹⁵ Kirchner, *Pros. Att.*, 12687; Aristophanes, *Knights*, 242 (with scholia); cf. Gossen in *R. E.*, no. 16.

¹⁶ For the date of the Πόλεως, cf. Geissler, *loc. cit.*

¹⁷ *I. G.*, I², 63, line 55, as revised in Meritt and West, *The Athenian Assessment of 425 B. C.*, pp. 46, 52-57.

REPORTS.

MNEMOSYNE, Third Series, Vol. I, part 1.

Pp. 1-3. Mnemosynae Tertiae Seriei propemptikon. The board of editors announces the policy of accepting articles in English, French, German, and Italian as well as in Latin, heretofore exclusive.

Pp. 4-27. H. Wagenvoort, ἀποκολοκύντωσις. The author believes that ἀποκολοκύντωσις means not a metamorphosis into a gourd, but rather an ἀποραφανίδωσις on an absurdly grand scale. He adduces several fables to illustrate this, and raises the question whether they may not be from a Greek source, such as a youthful work of Menander.

Pp. 28-30. P. J. Enk, adnotationes ad Plauti Mercatorem. (a) The double entendre, sensu amatorio, of verses 522-523. (b) The proper translation of non opus in verse 917 is "it is not desirable" rather than "it is not necessary."

Pp. 31-33. P. J. Enk, de Ovidii ex Ponto libri I versibus 75 et 76. Citius in verse 76 is the equivalent of facilius or potius.

Pp. 34-60. G. A. S. Snijder, Guttus und Verwandtes. A description, with a number of illustrative plates, of various especially-shaped vases used as breast-pumps, cupping-glasses, and tubular suction-feeders for invalids and young children.

Pp. 61-66. J. H. Thiel, deux notes sur l'histoire des Gracques. (a) The author shows that 3 assemblies are mentioned in Appian, 1, 12, as against the 2 mentioned in Plutarch, Ti. Gracchus 11-12, rather than only 1 assembly in Appian to 2 in Plutarch as M. Carcopino states in *Autour des Gracques*, Paris, 1928. (b) The author disagrees with the statement of M. Carcopino, that according to Plutarch's account the tribes voted simultaneously and according to Appian, separately. He holds that there is nothing in Plutarch's words to show a simultaneous voting.

Pp. 67-78. S. Peppink, ad Sophoclem eiusque Scholiastam. An examination of codex L directly and without recourse to phototyped copies discloses some hitherto unnoticed readings.

P. 79. S. Peppink, ad Aeschlyi Supplices adnotatiuncula. On verse 79.

P. 80. F. Muller, J. fil., Ciceronis ad Att. 8, 11, 3. For the corrupt manuunt read muniunt, which is in accord with Cicero's diction.

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RIVISTA DI FILOLOGIA E D'ISTRUZIONE CLASSICA, N. S. XI (LXI)
1933. Fascicle 3.

Pp. 289-298. Le origini dell'ordinamento centuriato. Gaetano De Sanctis. The "Servian" arrangement of classes and centuries at Rome, since it presupposes a population of 180-200,000, a density of population of 200 per sq. km., 6000 infantry and a legion with 6 *tribuni militum*, must date from soon after the Gallic invasion. The opportunity, which came in the same period, of dividing the increased army into 2 manageable legions, contributed to the renewal in 366 of the dual consulship, suspended from 444 in favor of *tribuni mil. consulari potestate*.

Pp. 299-314. Interpretazioni sofoclee. Aiace. Mario Untersteiner. The author finds in the choruses of Sophocles' *Antigone*, *Electra*, and especially the *Ajax* a new and important psychological motive, which accounts for seeming contradictions in the sentiments expressed: namely, that "the chorus represents the man who suffers and thinks and sees his own ego in the revelation of that of others,"—with this reservation, that "the efflorescence of an inner affliction is only occasional and unexpected."

Pp. 315-333. Un'interpretazione della *Leocratea*. Piero Treves. A study of Lycurgus' *Leocratea*, especially in contrast with the *De Corona*, reveals 2 cooperating, but distinct factions in Athenian anti-Macedonism: one, that of Demosthenes, demagogic and unscrupulous in its methods; the other, that of the dissenting conservatives, of more rigid morals and faithful to Isocratean theories of hegemony. Brief consideration also of Hyperides and Aeschines and a conjectural note on the relation of the extant *Leocratea* to the actual oration.

Pp. 334-364. Per la critica di Properzio. Flaminio Nencini. Suggestions for improving the text of Propertius in some 40 places.

Pp. 365-392. ΚΡΗΤΙΚΟΣ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΣ. Mario Segre. Publication (with photographs) and study of 2 new Greek inscriptions. One, from Cos, throws light on the *κρητικός πόλεμος* of Dittenberger-Hiller von Gaertringen, *S. I. G.*³ 569, 6 and 567, generally held to have begun in 205 or 204 B. C. between the Cretan pirates and the Rhodians with their allies. The other, from Olimpo di Scarpanto (Carpathus), seems to be the only inscription referring to the second *κρητικός πόλεμος* (begun c. 155 B. C. between the same parties); *S. I. G.*³ 570 should be dated a little later; apparently to the same events refers *I. G.* XII 1, 993.

Pp. 393-400. Postilla al nuovo Carme secolare. Pietro Romanelli. Fresh observations, corrections, etc., by the first editor of the new-found fragments of the *Acta Ludorum Saecularium* of 204 A. D., in answer to other articles on the same fragments.

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REVIEWS.

ROBERT SEYMOUR CONWAY, JOSHUA WHATMOUGH, and SARAH ELIZABETH JOHNSON. *The Prae-Italic Dialects of Italy*. Vol. I (pp. xvi + 459); Part I: The Venetic Inscriptions, collected and edited by R. S. Conway (with 16 plates); Part II: The Ancient Names, Local, Divine, and Personal, of North Italy, collected, arranged, and edited by S. E. Johnson; Vol. II (pp. xxxi + 632) = Part III: The Raetic, Lepontic, Gallic, East-Italic, Messapic, and Sikel Inscriptions, with the Glosses in Ancient Writers and the Local and Divine Names of Ancient Sicily, edited with Notes and an Appendix, together with Commentary, Grammar, Glossary, and an account of the Alphabets by J. Whatmough; Vol. III (pp. viii + 163): Indexes. Harvard University Press, 1933. Price: \$17.50.

As early as 1907 Conway formed the plan of publishing all the linguistic monuments of ancient Italy, aside from the Latin and Etruscan documents and the Oscan-Umbrian inscriptions, glosses, and names, which he had already published in his *Italic Dialects* (2 vols., Cambridge, 1897). The new work follows rather closely the format of the earlier, and it has in general corresponding excellencies and defects. It is a remarkably full collection of material, as can be seen by reading the above citations from the title pages, and I have no reason to doubt that the texts presented are as sound as those in the *Italic Dialects* are known to be. I cannot make a stronger statement simply because I have not myself seen any of the monuments whose readings are recorded. It is evident that many of these have been carefully examined by the authors, and, in case they are lost or for some other reason inaccessible, due care has been taken to compare all the available copies.

The contributions of the three authors are very unequal. Mrs. Johnson was commissioned to collect the ancient proper names from North Italy, and the results of her labor constitute Part II (about half of Vol. I), except that the names of the Raeti, who dwelt outside ancient Italy, have been collected by Whatmough in pp. 440-59.

Conway himself treats only one language, Venetic (Vol. I, pp. 1-201). His treatment of the documents seems thoroughly careful and reliable in the main. There is no doubt that he gives us many readings that are better than any previously published, but occasionally he leaves something to be desired. He does not always say clearly whether or not he has seen the original docu-

ment; I believe that he himself read all the votive inscriptions on stone from Ateste (Nos. 99-111); but I can find an explicit statement to that effect only for No. 108. He tells us (p. 170) that he spent one day in Vienna in 1908, but that, owing to the absence of the director of the Ethnographisches Museum, he was able to see only the inscriptions in glass cases, and (see p. 175) even those he saw only at a distance and through glass. He speaks of unsuccessful requests for photographs of these documents; but was it really impossible, at some time between 1908 and 1930, for one of the authors or some other competent scholar to make reliable copies?

The most serious fault in Conway's work is the neglect of Sommer's important article, *Zur venetischen Schrift und Sprache*, *IF* 42. 90-132 (1924). Conway's manuscript was already completed, in nearly its final form, at that date; but, nevertheless, Sommer's well founded theory that Venetic 'l' represents two originally distinct characters, namely lll from $\text{E} = h$ and $\cdot\text{l}\cdot$ a 'pointed' i , and that some traces of the original difference in form are to be found on the monuments, really demands a reexamination of the whole material with that point in mind. Instead Conway contents himself (p. 25, fn. 1) with saying: "In the light of this <i.e. evidence adduced to show that the points occasionally placed before and after all letters except h mark accent> it seems needless to discuss Prof. F. Sommer's conjecture in *Idg. Forsch.*, xlii (1924), p. 90." Now the truth is that Conway's theory about accent is far from satisfactory; it requires us to believe that many Venetic words, including some dissyllables, had two marked accents. Furthermore, it is not altogether clear that Sommer's reading of $\cdot\text{i}\cdot$ instead of h in certain cases cannot be reconciled with Conway's accentual theory.¹

Neglect of Sommer's discussion does not lessen the value of Conway's epigraphical contributions except in the one detail already mentioned. On the side of interpretation and grammatical analysis, however, much of his discussion is for this reason out of date.

The treatment of the remaining dialects is by Whatmough, who may now fairly be called the foremost living student of the non-Italic Indo-European languages of Italy. I have no serious fault to find with his work in editing the texts. He did not succeed in seeing all the extant monuments (for instance he has not seen the two Messapian inscriptions in Naples, or, appar-

¹ Sommer's article is briefly mentioned also on pp. 42, 62, and 164, and Whatmough has added a reference to it on p. 152. Vetter, *Glotta* 20. 73, notes the use of E in the dative ending in two inscriptions, and argues that the ending must therefore be read as $-ah$ rather than (with Sommer) as $-ai$. That, however, is not a necessary conclusion; once the form $\cdot\text{l}\cdot$ had come to represent both h and i , the partially equivalent E might well be used in both values.

ently, the one in Lucera); but I find no reason to suspect that he has missed anything important in this way (there are several good and nearly harmonious copies of the Naples monuments, and Ribezzo has published the Lucera inscription from autopsy).

Whatmough has also made important contributions to the interpretation of the inscriptions, and particularly to our knowledge of the linguistic character of the obscure dialects here treated. Details need not be listed, since his more important conclusions have already been made known in numerous articles. We need only record two matters of general interest. All the languages discussed seem to be Indo-European, except the very scantily documented Northern East-Italic, which seems to show affinities with Etruscan. Messapian, like Venetic, seems to be a 'centum' language, although it has more usually been considered a 'satem' language. Whatmough, to be sure, leaves the question open (Vol. II, p. 605); but the new etymology given below may perhaps be thought to tip the scales in this direction.

Whatmough was invited to participate in the enterprise in 1922, and his manuscript was completed in 1925. During the years that intervened before publication much revision was necessary, and that, no doubt, is the reason for a considerable amount of disagreement between the several parts of the work. Thus on p. 603 we read: "On -a from *m*, see Glossary s. v. *lahona*." In the Glossary, however (Vol. III, p. 26), Bugge's interpretation of *lahona* as 'statuam' is definitely rejected in favor of the hypothesis that the word is the dative of an epithet of the goddess Aprodita. The word is discussed also in the Commentary (Vol. II, p. 567), where there is no hint that our author considers the word an accusative of a consonant stem.

As far as I have noted additional revision is most seriously needed in the latter part of the Messapic Grammar (Vol. II, pp. 608 f.). Here an attempt is made to construct a partial paradigm of the verb. I am inclined to agree with most of the inferences there drawn; but any reader who checks up with the Glossary the forms listed under the several categories will surely be surprised. All the forms cited for the present indicative are assigned to that category with considerable reserve in the Glossary, but none of them is queried in the Grammar. On p. 609 *temiwe* is cited as aorist 3 s., but the word does not occur as such in the Glossary; instead we find *feremiwe*, with the notation that Ribezzo reads *feremiwe* — still interpreting it as an aorist, to be sure. The discussion of the form in the Commentary (Vol. II, pp. 566 f.) does not explain away the lack of a query especially since this is the only form cited in its category that shows a final vowel (the most certain of them is *hipades*, 'dedicavit', discussed below).

Of the subjunctive forms cited on p. 609 all but one come

from a single inscription, whose interpretation is scarcely certain enough to warrant setting up this category. The remaining form *dentan* (?), here listed as 3 pl., subj., is in the Glossary, s. v. *taden*, cited, as a merely possible reading, with the meaning 'posuerunt'.

The list of prepositions and verbal prefixes on p. 609 sadly needs revision. The Glossary supplies at least two additions to the list of verbal prefixes, namely *pre-* and *hi-*. Of more importance is the need for deletion of the "borrowed" preposition *ana*, which word has now been recognized by several scholars as an epithet of various goddesses (so the Glossary). Whereupon the other "borrowed" prepositions and verbal prefixes become doubly suspicious. The inscription that contains *σνπ* 'under' may not be Messapian at all; but if it is, then *sup* is genuine Messapian too; see my Hittite Grammar, p. 141. *eipei-* occurs only in an inscription whose meaning is quite unknown; it should certainly be deleted for the present. There is no reason for considering *apa-* (?) a loan, since IE *o* becomes Messapian *a*.

There remains the comparatively well-attested *hipa-*, which can be connected with IE *upo* or *supo* only by the fantastic supposition that it represents Gk. *ἵπῶ*. The word occurs in No. 395: *ana aprodita lahona theotoridda hipakaθi*. This inscription is on a capital which may have carried a statue; I should translate: 'For Queen Aprodita Puerpera, Teotoridia sets (it) up' (more literally: 'fastens here'). I should analyze the verb *hi-pakaθi*, and connect it with IE *pak-* 'fasten' (Lat. *pāx*, *pacīscor*, etc.). This etymology supplies a new instance of Messapian *k* from IE *k̂*, and also a better example of present 3 s. in *-ti* than any of those listed on p. 608. One of the most certain Messapian verbal forms is *hipades* 'dedicavit', whose final member is no doubt aorist 3 s. of IE *dhē-* 'place'. I find in the form the prefix *hi-* followed by *pa-* from IE *po-* (cf. Lat. *po-* in *po-sīvi*, etc.). The latter prefix has not hitherto been recognized in Messapian; but it may occur in *pa-lan-andai*, of unknown meaning, which Whatmough thinks may be 3 pl. mid. opt.

Vol. III contains a Glossary of the dialects (pp. 3-56), Indexes of ancient local names (pp. 56-76), of modern local names (pp. 77-80), of divine names (pp. 81-7), of gentile names (pp. 88-104), of cognomina (pp. 105-42), of words from other languages and dialects discussed by the authors (pp. 143-51), and of subjects (pp. 152-63).

The almost prohibitive cost of the work requires a word. I have no reason to suspect that the price is out of proportion to the cost of printing; but the fact remains that few scholars can afford so expensive a book. It would have been better to sacrifice some of the contents; e. g. pp. 6-18 of Vol. I, the 16 plates in

Vol. I, and the indexes of proper names. In many places, also, there is needless repetition and unnecessary verbiage that, in the aggregate, add considerably to the size and cost of the work.

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J. GAGÉ. *Recherches sur les jeux séculaires* (in the Collection d'Études latines edited by J. Marouzeau). Paris, 1934. Pp. 119.

In preparation for an extensive study of the *ludi saeculares* Gagé has collected in this small volume four articles which came out in the *Revue des Études latines* in 1931-3. The papers appear just as they were printed in the journal with the result that the cross references do not correspond with the paging of the volume. The first paper is an excellent discussion of the site of Tarentum (Gagé actually prefers the form Terentum and, like Wuilleumier, associates the word with the Sabine *terrenum*). The author rightly follows Wuilleumier and Boyancé in rejecting Lanciani's identification of the *Ara Ditis* with the ruins found near the Chiesa Nuova in 1887, but he does not agree with them in placing Tarentum in the Ghetto. The site of Tarentum is, he points out, fixed by the place of discovery of the *Acta ludorum saecularium* which are preserved on fragments of marble columns set up where the games occurred. The remains of the *Ara Ditis* must be sought near the end of the Corso Vittorio Emmanuele. The second paper on the *Carmen Saeculare* of Horace, written originally before the discovery of the fragments of the Severan hymn, argues against Mommsen's scheme for the division of the hymn between Palatine and Capitoline in favor of Warde Fowler's view that the entire hymn was sung on both hills, and the argument has been strongly reinforced by the subsequent discovery that the Severan hymn was thus repeated. The repetition of the entire hymn on the Capitol seems to Gagé to explain the rôle of Apollo and Diana. The two divinities act, he believes, as intercessors with the other gods, and in so representing them Horace was interpreting the ideas of Augustus. If that is the case, we must admit that Augustus' ideas did not inspire Horace to do his best.

The third paper has some acute comments on the details of the ritual of sacrifice and *ludi* supplied by the new fragments of the Severan *Acta*. In the formula of the prayer *utique semper Latinus optemperassit* Gagé is inclined to see an ancient form recalling rather a Sabine than a Roman conquest of the Latins which found its way into the secular ritual perhaps because of the oracle which Phlegon quotes. But it would seem more likely

that the oracle which ends with the promise that the Italian and the Latin land will be under Roman yoke was inspired by the prayer than that the reverse was the case. There is much to be said for dating the oracle in the time of Augustus. Of great interest is the discussion of the *ludiones* mentioned in the *Acta*. The figure in a long garment — usually explained as a herald — on a coin commemorating Augustus' celebration was identified by Piganiol as a *ludio*, and Gagé now explains another Augustan coin which shows a *ludio* beside a togate figure in the act of sacrifice as an illustration of the two aspects of the games, *sacrificium saeculare ludusque*. The rôle of the *ludio* in the secular games, which are ancient *ludi scaenici*, may be important for the history of theatrical celebrations at Rome. Boyancé in an important article in *Rev. Ét. Anc.*, 1932, 11 ff. has explained the much discussed dramatic *satura* as the performance of *ludiones*.

The last paper, an attempt to distinguish between the *ludi saeculares* and the festivals of Rome's founding, is perhaps the most significant of the four. According to Gagé, Claudius, though he actually made a different computation of the *saeculum* and associated the origin of the festival with the founding of Rome, probably celebrated his games at the same season — late May and early June — and with the same rites as Augustus, but the celebration of Philip on the completion of Rome's thousandth year and very probably the shadowy festival of Antoninus Pius a hundred years earlier took place at a different time of the year and followed a different ritual which was not under the *XVviri*. Gagé has made a strong case for his view of Philip's games, but there is conclusive evidence for the difference in ritual which neither he nor anyone else, as far as I know, has cited. On coins discussed by Gagé which show Philip sacrificing in front of a temple, the emperor appears at the secular festival with his head veiled; the offering is therefore made according to the Roman rite. The secular games of Augustus, Domitian, and Septimius Severus were held by order of the *XVviri* under the Greek rite, and Domitian on his coins is shown sacrificing with head uncovered as the Greek rite prescribed. Here is definite proof that the celebration of Philip differed in ritual from the three celebrations for which we have epigraphical and numismatic records.

For the season at which Philip's festival took place Gagé has an indication in Cassiodorus' association of it with the *Natalis Urbis*, that is the festival of the *Parilia* on April 21 as it was reorganized by Hadrian when he was building the temple of Venus and Roma in 121. A coin of that year has on it ann(o) DCCCLXXIIII Nat(alis) Urb(is) P(arilibus) cir(censes) con(stituti). The rites of 248 were an extension of the Roman birthday festival instituted by Hadrian. For his ceremonies

Philip borrowed certain features of the *ludi saeculares* in the Augustan tradition, such as sacrifices and scenic games which lasted three nights and days, but in spite of the fact that they are later called *saeculares veri*, the games were not genuine secular games such as had been known under the *XVviri* and they were accordingly omitted by Zosimus in his history of the secular games. The celebration of Antoninus Pius, probably in 148, was nothing more than a birthday festival of unusual magnificence, and probably was not described as *ludi saeculares*. The scene of the sacrifices at these festivals of the *Natalis Urbis* was presumably the temple of Venus and Roma and Gagé attempts to identify with that temple the shrine before which the sacrifice on Philip's coins takes place. But an examination of the coins reveals sufficient variety in the representations to suggest that, like the earlier secular festivals, this one had its sacrifices in different places. There is, however, no reason to believe that any of them took place at Tarentum.

The results of these preliminary studies are a good augury for the more extensive work on the secular games which Gagé has in preparation.

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CHARLOTTE A. BAYNES. A Coptic Gnostic Treatise contained in the Codex Brucianus (Bruce MS. 96. Bodl. Lib. Oxford). A Translation from the Coptic, Transcript, and Commentary, with 117 collotype reproductions of the text and transcript. Pp. xxv + 229. Cambridge, at the University Press, and New York, The Macmillan Company. 1933. \$10.

Our knowledge of Gnosticism depends largely on the reports and citations of its doctrines in writings intended to confute them. This greatly increases the interest of the few texts which preserve Gnostic ideas in extenso (in particular of Clement's *Excerpta ex Theodoto*) and of a group of Coptic treatises, which, while not representing the earlier phases of the movement, tend to increase our faith in the ecclesiastical tradition. The handsome volume here reviewed gives a facsimile, transcript, translation, and commentary for one of the last, indicating the relation of its ideas to what we know of the various Gnostic schools. It is a dogmatic exposition, with hymns put in the mouths of supernatural personages. Of the linguistic scholarship involved I cannot judge, but since it has in the main enjoyed a scrutiny by Crum we can rely upon it. The translation is intelligible — which is not a merit invariably found in versions of such literature — and the notes are full and show a wide acquaintance with Clement, Hippolytus, Irenaeus, and

the other Coptica. This material will be serviceable to specialists, and the book may be commended to those who have read Burkitt's *Church and Gnosis* and desire to see what the ideas of Gnosis became. The reader could wish for an essay describing with diagrams the Weltbild which is presupposed, and also for more consideration of the relation of its ideas with contemporary pagan thought, but the latter at least would lie outside the plan of the editor.

I may remark on some points of detail. On p. 152 the thrice born power is invoked as Hermes, if we accept Miss Baynes' view of 'αρμης; her inferences are interesting. On p. 97 one of the Guardians is called Strempsoukos; is this possibly derived from the name of the supposed Persian sage Astrampsychos, under whose name various pseudepigrapha circulated? On pp. 114 ff. we read of five powers in the midst of the immeasurable deep called by these unutterable names — agape, elpis, pistis, gnosis, irene;¹ this deserves attention in view of the discussions about 1 Cor. 13 and the formula pistis, aletheia, eros, elpis in Porphyry. On pp. 86, 183 f., Miss Baynes has useful remarks on the contacts between the system here set forth and the polemic of Plotinus against the Gnostics. Our thanks are due to her for the sympathetic care and industry which she has devoted to this significant document.

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JOTHAM JOHNSON. *Excavations at Minturnae. Volume II, Inscriptions. Part I, Republican Magistri.* With an appendix of classical references to the site. Pp. xi + 138, 34 figures. *Lanc.*, The International Mediterranean Association. Philadelphia, published for the University Museum by the University of Pennsylvania Press. 1933.

This volume is highly significant for a number of reasons. It gives the results of the first excavations for many years made by non-Italians in Italy, and these results amply justify the wise liberality of the Italian government. Further, the yield in inscriptions of the last century of the Republic, 29 in number and two fragments, is unusual, and they bear materially on our understanding of social and religious conditions. Dr. Johnson, to whom we owe this work, has given his finds to the world with exemplary speed, knowledge, and skill. All students of Roman antiquity are much in his debt and will look forward eagerly to the continued progress of his investigations.

The inscriptions were cut on altars which were afterwards

¹ There are longer lists elsewhere in the treatise, e. g., xiii, p. 51.

built into the foundations of a temple erected at Minturnae in the first decades of the first century A. D.; a torso of Tiberius was found in it, and of the dedication the letters IAE .AVG survive, and may point either to a temple to Tiberius and Iulia Augusta or, as Dr. Johnson shows reason to think more likely, to one to Concordia Augusta or some similar abstraction. The altars, which show signs of damage by fire, are all dedications by *magistri* and *magistrae*: *heisc. mag. Spei d.d.* (12, 23, the latter with *donum dant* in full); *heis. mag. Cer. d.d.* (22); *heisce mag. Merc. fel. d.d.* (25); *hasc. mag. V.d.d.* (8).¹ They opened with a dating by the *duoviri* of the town; but this, like the other formula, has perished in most cases; in one (21) *Spei sacr.* appears as a postscript. Apart from the dedication to Mercurius felix, which has nine names, the regular number is twelve, and exceptions are probably due to the cutting of the stones to adapt them for their new use; in one (24) a name has been hammered out as a result of some local *damnatio memoriae*. The names listed in these records belong entirely to freedmen, freedwomen, and slaves. Dr. Johnson has made a most valuable study of these names and drawn instructive inferences as to the racial composition of this part of the population of Minturnae; Greeks predominate, but there is a notably high proportion of names pointing to Semitic or Syrian Greek origin, 15% of the whole; Celtic names are few, and Teutonic names absent, but as the editor remarks, their bearers might be less interested in local worships than other slaves were; further, the captives from the wars of Marius were probably not so easy to assimilate as slaves from the nearer East. Dr. Johnson has made also an illuminating study of the names of the owners of the slaves; descendants of Roman settlers predominate. One inference is of particular interest; it is that, while not more than a tenth of the slave and freedman population can be represented in these new texts, probably most of the slave-holders are.

These results, and many more of note, follow from the study of the names. The lists themselves reopen the very difficult problem of the nature and functions of such *magistri*, who are known to us above all from Capua and Delos. Dr. Johnson has given an excellent survey of the evidence and of earlier discussions, and formulated his conclusions. With some of these I venture to disagree, although I am fully aware of the complexity of the issues involved. The propositions which I doubt are these:

(1) "The members of the colleges did not occupy, singly or in groups, an official executive position." This is made to rest on the appearance of slaves and women in the lists. Both points

¹ V. is probably for Venus. The abbreviation is unusual; I. O. M., M. I. S., and the like are common, but not so far as I know the representation of a divine name, standing alone, by its initial letter.

appear strong, and yet the title *magistri* can but imply authority over something, whether a shrine, a festival, or a society. As for the presence of women, certain important ceremonies were in their hands exclusively; so at Rome the rites of the Bona Dea, the sacrifice to Juno Caprotina on the Nonae Caprotinae (Varro, *De Lingua Latina*, VI, 18), a rite of Mater Matuta described by Plutarch, *Quaest. Roman.*, 16, the supplications to Venus Verticordia and Fortuna Virilis on April 1 (*C. I. L.*, I, ed. 2, p. 314); women were supposed to have founded the temple of Carmenta (Plutarch, *Quaest. Roman.*, 56). Of course, it is partly a question of definition; what is at stake is not exactly an executive position, but rather a delegated function.

(2) "Each cult which was served by *magistri* had its own college of worshippers. This is shown by the fact that from Capua, in the same year, there are preserved distinct *magister*-lists for two cults, Venus Jovia and Castor and Pollux; and also by the phrase *conlegium seive magistrei Jovei Compagai*. Each board of *magistri* (usually twelve in number) was formed from a more extensive membership in the cult. Everything which we know about the colleges and their political influence indicates a widespread participation."

This is the crucial question. Does not *conlegium* in the Capuan text prove the opposite? It denotes the *magistri* acting as a body with a corporate existence, exactly like the Arval brothers and the four priestly colleges at Rome, or the Atiedian brothers at Iguvium; the legal maxim was *tres facere collegium*. *C. I. L.*, X, 3783 *heisc. magistr. ex pagei scitu*, and 3772, a decree of the *pagus Herculanus* relating to the *conlegium seive magistrei* just mentioned make it perfectly clear that the *magistrei* there named were representatives of the local unit and not (like the *magistreis conlegi mercatorum*, 3773) the presiding officers of an association. A Republican text from Cora mentions a larger body side by side with the *magistri*: [*Mentei bo*]nae *serueis contul. HS . . . MMMLV, mag. X ded. HS V*, three of the slaves having the epithet *leiber* (X, 6514 = I, ed. 2, 1510). Here the larger body is an aggregate of slaves, not of worshippers of Mens Bona.² Further, the diversity of *magister*-lists proves nothing against the theory here maintained, since each cult or shrine needed a separate board.

Magister and *conlegium* are both from our standpoint ambiguous; *magister* implies a man with power, peculiar to himself or shared with others bearing the same title, over things or men,

² Compare X, 5671 (from Rocca d'Arce between Aquinum and Arpinum): *D. M. C. Iulio Sotericho f(ilio) G(ai) n(ostri) lib(erti) et colleg(ium) uenator(um) sacer(dotum) Dean[e] lustr(i) tertii*. The freedmen, presumably of Soterichus, and a *conlegium* formed from among them, make the dedication; the *conlegium* is, as Mommsen remarks, domestic, but the lines of public organization are followed.

collegium a group with specific functions — in the earlier usage, perhaps always functions assigned by the state;³ it was composed either of equals (as the *magistri*), or of equals one or more of whom act in succession as executive official or officials (as the Arval brothers at Rome and the Atiedian brothers at Iguvium), or, like the city, it consisted of a relatively large body of equals governed by a relatively small hierarchy of office drawn from its ranks.⁴ Now at Rome the care of temples and games, apart from such as were founded in later times as a result of vows, rested not with the magistrates but with *collegia* created for the purpose (Mommsen, *Gesammelte Schriften*, I, 217 f. On the origin of the plebeian aediles cf. K. Latte, *Göttingen Nachrichten*, phil.-hist. Klasse, *Altertumsw.*, 1934, 73 ff.); this is notable as an Italian way of doing these things which is distinct from Greek practice (for the significance of Roman priestly colleges I may refer to Nilsson's remarks, *Röm. Mitt.*, XLVIII [1933], 248 ff.). The *Mercuriales* when first mentioned by Livy (II, 27, 5) are a *collegium mercatorum*, having an occupational basis; the *Capitolini* and *Auentini* and *montani* had a local basis. When these last are in question we find the form *magister* followed by a genitive describing the body from whose ranks they came; that such local bodies had a corporate existence is further shown by Cicero, *De domo sua*, 74: *nullum est in hac urbe conlegium, nulli pagani aut montani, quoniam plebei quoque urbanae maiores nostri conuenticula et quasi concilia quaedam esse uoluerunt, qui non amplissime non modo de salute mea sed etiam de dignitate decreuerint*.⁵

I incline therefore to the opinion that we must postulate at Minturnae not four *collegia* from which *magistri* were drawn, but a local unit which delegated a variety of religious functions to four or more distinct boards. On this hypothesis also the presence of slaves and women can be explained. While the great civic cults were the affair of the city as a political unit, and authority could therefore be delegated only to citizens and in some cases only to patricians, here on the other hand the unit was geographical and social status was irrelevant.⁶ In fact, the

³ Mommsen, *Gesammelte Schriften*, III, 63 ff.; on *magister*, cf. *Staatsrecht*, I (ed. 3), 8.

⁴ For the second type, cf. the *sodales sacrorum Tusculanorum* discussed by A. Rosenberg, *Der Staat der alten Italiker*, 9 ff. The antiquity of *magistri* in associations of the third type is shown by the prohibition in the S. C. de Bacchanalibus (Dessau, 18): *sacerdos nequis uir eset; magister neque uir neque mulier eset*.

⁵ On the antiquity of geographical units in Roman religion cf. G. Wissowa, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 233 ff., with his discussion of Festus, p. 284, 18 ff. (Lindsay): *publica sacra, quae publico sumptu pro populo fiunt quaeque pro montibus pagis curis sacellis: at privata, quae pro singulis hominibus familiis gentibus fiunt*.

⁶ Cf. the account of the origin of compitalician rites in Dionys. Halic., *Ant.*, IV, 14, 3.

emergence of these *magistri* is a feature of conditions, geographical or legal, under which men's civic status was dubious or non-existent. Disfranchised Capua is an example, where as religious officials they correspond to the civil *magistri pagi* (themselves freeborn in the one text giving information). Other examples are the resident trader population of Delos, and the freedman and slave populations of a variety of cities.⁷ This development, in so far as it took place in Italian townships, proceeded with the approval and sometimes on the initiative of the civil authorities. Is it not thinkable that this was the outcome of a deliberate policy of assigning to these elements in society a function which would give to them a religious stake in the state, just as Augustus later gave it by the institution of *seviri* and *Augustales*?⁸

One further fact points strongly in this direction. In spite of the high proportion of slaves, about 83% in all, whose names indicate an origin in the Hellenistic and Semitic East, the cults which were thus administered by *magistri* and *magistrae* at Minturnae and, so far as I know, elsewhere are, when named, cults either Italian in origin or Greek but so long naturalized as to rank as Italian.⁹ There are of course indications of the adhesion of immigrants to local cults but, if we were dealing with associations of the private and spontaneous type, should we not find them worshipping also Men or Dea Suria or some Baal? This shows that the institution was native Italian, and confirms the view here taken of the official standing of the *magistri* and *magistrae*. If these conclusions are accepted, then we must revise our ideas on the character of ancient slavery.

We often think of the Roman attitude as brutal and indifferent, because our thinking is so highly colored by the conditions of the last century and a half of the Republic, when war and wealth and piracy had created great slave households standing in little personal relation to their masters; we certainly attach too much importance to inflamed accounts of individual cruelty. But in the old native tradition, which shaped religious institu-

⁷ When Capua recovered civic status, the institution of *magistri* speedily disappeared (Mommsen, *C. I. L.*, X, p. 367; Lommatzsch, *ib.*, I [ed. 2], p. 518). Cf. Mommsen, *Gesammelte Schriften*, VI, 198 f., Schulten, in *P. W.*, III, 1453 for *magistri* in the looseknit communities which later grew up around permanent camps.

⁸ Cf. Nock, *Mélanges Bidez*, 627 ff.

⁹ *Ministri* are often parallel to *magistri*, and sometimes exist side by side with them in the same cult [e. g., that of the Lares at Verona, 3 free *magistri*, 3 slave *ministri* (1 B. C.: *C. I. L.*, V, 3257); that of the Lares Augusti in various places (S. Aurigemma, *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1911, 147); that of the Fontes (*C. I. L.*, VI, 154, 157)]. *Magistrae* and *ministrae* are found in the cult of Bona Dea (Aquileia: *C. I. L.*, V, 762). We might be tempted to regard *Ministra Matris magnae* at Corfinium (IX, 3146) as an exception; but she is a functionary and not necessarily a member of a collegium.

tions, the slave was part of the *familia*, and at the Compitalia the *vilicus* or head of the slaves on a farm did sacrifice.¹⁰ The slave and the freedman and the other members of what Horace calls the *tunicatus popellus* had to come together; it was well that they should do so in a way which secured loyalty by building on the sure foundation of self-importance.

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HANS DILLER. *Wanderarzt und Aitiologe: Studien zur Hippokratischen Schrift ΠΕΡΙ ΑΕΡΩΝ ΥΔΑΤΩΝ ΤΟΠΩΝ.* (Philologus, Supplementband XXVI, Heft 3.) Leipzig, Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1934. Pp. viii + 121. M. 7.60; bound, M. 9.

Dr. Diller, who used part of this treatise as his Habilitationsschrift at the University of Leipzig, here gives us one of the best recent studies relating to the works included in the Hippocratean Corpus.

After a brief preliminary survey of earlier discussions of the treatise *Περὶ ἀ. ὑ. τ.*, Dr. Diller devotes successive chapters to (I) the directions of cc. 1-11 to the roving physician, (II) the form and object of cc. 12-24, (III) the theoretical attitude of cc. 12-24, (IV) the relation of this section to the geography and ethnology of Ionian *ἰστορίη*, (V) the relation of the second part to the first and to the treatise *Περὶ ἰφῆς νόσου*, and an appendix to a discussion of the relation of *Περὶ ἀ. ὑ. τ.* to other climatological, especially ethno-geographical theories. Finally, there is an index of important passages discussed.

The disposition of the materials is excellent. First there is a lucid and objective analysis of the two parts of the treatise under discussion, which leaves little to be desired; then follows an attempt to set them into relation with what is otherwise known to us of similar theories. It is obvious that the two parts do not, and can not, arrive at equally certain results. While it is evident, and has long been acknowledged, that the treatise falls into two distinct parts, the conclusions to be drawn from this fact are not at all certain. Dr. Diller makes abundantly clear that the purposes of the two parts are quite different, and concludes that they were really separate works. So far I agree with him, and have in fact myself drawn the same conclusion. His further contention is more doubtful; for the grounds on which he bases the judgment that they can not be the work of the same author are to my thinking quite inadequate. That the point of

¹⁰ Cato, *De re rustica*, 5.

view is different in the separate treatises is certain; this *may* be due to different authorship, but it may equally be due to other circumstances. One who writes at different times on different subjects is likely to write from different points of view. There is no marked stylistic difference. This being the case, the fact that they were brought together and are by the tradition regarded as a unit suggests rather that they came together into the medical corpus, and creates a certain presumption of common authorship. I see no way to decide the question.

Regarding the questions to which Dr. Diller devotes the greater part of his discussion one is similarly disposed to be cautious, not because he has, like many of his countrymen, boldly advanced startling hypotheses, but because, our sources being such as they are, one feels that any particular hypothesis is likely to be wrong. Thus, there is no question that there is some connection between *Περὶ ἀ. ὕ. τ.* and *Περὶ ἰσῆς νούσου*, but one may well doubt whether they owe their points of agreement or similarity to common authorship or, granted that they do, whether one can decide which was the earlier treatise. A connection may likewise be assumed between *Περὶ ἀ. ὕ. τ.* and the first three books of the *Epidemiae*; but how it is to be explained is a question that admits of no certain answer. This raises the question why Dr. Diller chose to entitle his studies *Wanderarzt und Aitiologie*. The latter appellation is well-chosen, because, as our author has admirably shown, the second part is primarily concerned with discovering the causes of phenomena. But why "*Wanderarzt*"? The first part is conceived as a text for the roving physician; but there is not a shred of evidence contained in it that its author was himself a traveller. On the contrary, the purely theoretical character of the discussion is only too clear. And if we assume (what Dr. Diller would not grant) that the second part is to be attributed to the same author, the same holds true, for the references to the Scythians and the dwellers by the Phasis create (as Dr. Diller acknowledges) no presumption that the writer knew at first hand either Scythia or Colchis. One wonders, therefore, how we come by "*Wanderarzt*." Can it be because of the vague connection with *Ἐπιδημία* I-III?

Much the same questions arise when one considers the possible date of the treatise and its relation to the thought of the time in the fields of geography and ethnology. Although there is indisputable evidence of intense interest in these subjects from the middle of the sixth century onwards, detailed information regarding the numerous writers and their views is entirely wanting. This unfortunate situation is probably due to the fact that Aristotle and his school, though not without a certain interest in cosmology, touched geography and kindred subjects only in the most superficial way. Not until we reach Eratosthenes do we find evidence of an intelligent concern about the history of

these sciences, and our information, derived from that source, is lamentably meager. While, therefore, it is possible and instructive to find parallels, more or less complete, between ideas of different writers, extreme caution is indicated in drawing inferences from them. What seems fairly evident is that by the middle of the fifth century there must have existed a considerable body of literature dealing with geography and ethnology, most of which remains, for us at least, anonymous. Whether the data were true or not, they were obviously for the most part common property. Only in exceptional cases is there a reasonable probability that one may assign them to a special source, as when the data refer to a particular land and belong to a definite tradition, which we have good reason for tracing to a given author.

Dr. Diller dates *Περὶ ἀ. ὁ. τ.* about 400 B. C. and suggests that it originated in circles close to Democritus. As to its date, leaving out of account a possible connection with Democritus, it might be any time after the middle of the fifth century. There is nothing to show that its author (or authors) knew Herodotus; but that is not surprising. Dr. Diller has done excellent service in pointing out a considerable number of data and ideas more or less related occurring in the treatise and in scattered notices of Democritus. What conclusions may one draw from such parallels? This raises a number of vexed questions which are of considerable importance. Latterly much stress has been laid on Democritus, especially as a geographer. Eratosthenes mentioned him as one who had made a contribution to the subject, but we do not know in what direction; for the few definite data afford no clue. Late authors have much to say about extensive travels on the part of the philosopher, but this is thoroughly discredited. Burnet was probably right in saying that he spent most of his life teaching at Abdera, and his voluminous writings, which were famous for their style, certainly suggest a life similar to that of Aristotle. Where, then, did he obtain the data which he worked up in his treatises? The probability is that his sources were literary; and these literary sources, as we see everywhere in the Greek tradition, were of course not mere collections of facts, real or supposed, but were shot through with theories. What warrant have we, then, for thinking that we are dealing with things that are specifically and peculiarly Democritean? Even the doctrine that all things have natural causes (*Περὶ ἀ. ὁ. τ.*, 22) is expressly attributed to Leucippus; and Aristotle tells us that it was held by all the physical philosophers. Thus the date also of the treatise becomes uncertain.

This does not mean that Dr. Diller's labors have been in vain. He has made a solid contribution, for which we owe him thanks. More such studies are urgently needed. What the dispassionate

student sees more and more clearly is the existence of a great body of data, variously interpreted and arranged, forming the store upon which the Sophists of the latter half of the fifth century and the social philosophers of later times drew at pleasure. Except in rare instances it is impossible *suum cuique reddere*; but this is of as little consequence as the effort to discover the particular sources of the welter of speculations behind the New Deal. Periods of social unrest are much alike, producing a profusion of ill-assorted notions. Rarely does one find a unified theory sufficiently comprehensive to make an epoch. What the fifth century could not achieve was seriously undertaken by the successors of Socrates.

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